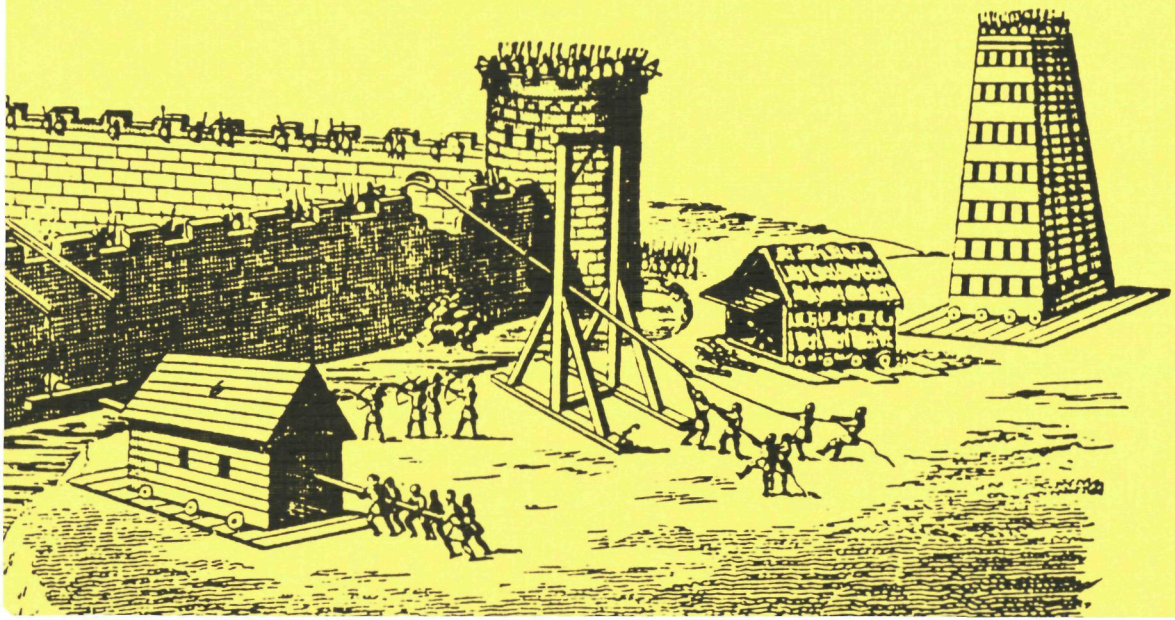
VINCENT HUNINK

M. ANNAEUS LUCANUS
BELLUM CIVILE
BOOK III

A COMMENTARY



BELLUM CIVILE III

M. ANNAEUS LUCANUS
BELLUM CIVILE
BOOK III

A COMMENTARY

EEN WETENSCHAPPELIJKE PROEVE
OP HET GEBIED VAN DE LETTEREN,
IN HET BIJZONDER DE FILOLOGIE

PROEFSCHRIFT
TER VERKRIJGING VAN DE GRAAD VAN DOCTOR
AAN DE KATHOLIEKE UNIVERSITEIT NIJMEGEN,
VOLGENS BESLUIT VAN HET COLLEGE VAN DECANEN
IN HET OPENBAAR TE VERDEDIGEN
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To my parents

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PREFACE

This commentary could not have been completed without the help and support of many persons and institutions.

In the first place I would like to thank the Board of Governors of the Catholic University of Nijmegen, which has enabled me to work on the book for four years and receive my Ph D. Special thanks are due to my supervisor Prof Dr. J.H Brouwers, not only for his scrupulous correction of the typoscript, but also for the trust he put in me from the beginning and his continuous support during the execution of the project. I also extend my gratitude to the members of the reading committee, Prof.Dr. G.J.M. Bartelink, Dr. A.J.L. van Hooff and Dr. J.J L Smolenaars, as well as to the publisher Mr. J.C. Gieben.

I am greatly indebted to several other persons. Prof. Dr. P.F.J. Obbema has helped me study Lucanean manuscripts Dr F J. Meijer has given useful advice on some problems concerning Roman ships. My English has been corrected in numerous places by Mrs. S E. Harmsen-Peraino. In addition, I have learned much from discussions with my friends and collegues Drs. J. Lukoschus, Drs. J.A.E. Bons, and Drs. S.T.A M. Mols and Dr. F.H.M. van Campen.

During the work, I always felt supported by my brother Camiel Hunink, my sister-in-law Dominique Hunink-Jansen and my dear friends Jo Huisinga and Marco Balvers. On many occasions I have benefited from their common sense and open-minded suggestions.

Finally, I thank my parents Anton Hunink and Vera Hunink-Dams. They have enabled me to go to university and they have encouraged me to find my own way in every respect. It is with pleasure that I dedicate this book to them.

Nijmegen, January 1992 VH

INTRODUCTION

1. GENERAL REMARKS

1.1. Commentaries on Lucan

In recent years, scholarly interest in the works of Marcus Annaeus Lucanus has steadily grown. Studies on his poem *Bellum Civile*[1] as a whole, as well as articles devoted to special subjects or individual passages are being published at an ever increasing rate. But until now, no recent full scale commentary to the text has been available, the last complete commentaries being those by HASKINS in 1887 and FRANCKEN in 1896[2]. Though the former is still useful in many places, it is, on the whole, rather brief The latter has already been severely criticised by HOUSMAN and others, and proves to be so full of errors and needless conjectures that its value to modern readers and scholars is very limited Earlier commentaries, such as those by OUDENDORP and CORTIUS still provide much help, but cannot fill the gap in modern scholarship. Many bilingual editions of Lucan have been published in the last few decades, but apart from their translation and critical apparatus, these provide hardly more than basic explanatory notes. A full commentary to BC by Werner Rutz had been announced, but the eminent German scholar of Lucan died in 1984, apparently leaving the work unfinished.

However, several commentaries are devoted to individual books of BC. Book 1 is probably the one most frequently edited; see the commentaries by Getty (1940), Wuilleumier/Le Bonniec (1962), Garbarino (1965) and recently Gagliardi (1989). On book 2, a recent commentary is available by Van Campen (1991)[3], another commentary by Fantham has been announced for 1992. Book 5 has been commented upon by Barratt (1979), and for lines 1-373 see also Van Amerongen's unpublished dissertation (1977) A commentary was published on the most important part of book 6, the aristeia of Scaeva, by Conte (1974), reprinted in CONTE 1988. Book 7 was dealt with by Postgate (1913) and Gagliardi (1975). Postgate's edition was revised by Dilke (1978). For book 8 see the works of Postgate (1917) and Mayer (1981) A very detailed commentary on lines 1-171 of book 10 was written by Schmidt (1986). For books 3, 4 and 9, no full scale commentaries are available[4]. This may be due to the presence in these books of some spectacular scenes, which

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[1] On the title of the work, see my note to line 14 Henceforth, it will be abbreviated BC

[2] For my system of references to books and articles, see the introductory note to the bibliography at the end of this book.

[3] An English version of this dissertation is due to be published in 1992

[4] On book 3, only SAMYN 1966, a Belgian 'Licentiaatsverhandeling', is available, though not easily accessible This work contains a Dutch translation and a draft of a commentary Samyn's notes are fragmentary and superficial, and mainly deal with *minutiae* concerning text and translation It does not provide much help for the interpretation of book 3 For book 4, the Danish edition of Due (1961) and another Belgian 'Licentiaatsverhandeling', by De Coninck (1966), can be mentioned The edition of book 9 by Kubiak (1985) contains hardly more than notes to help undergraduate students

have long been considered as superfluous digressions of extravagant pathos and violence: the naval battle near Massilia in book 3, the collective suicide of Caesarean soldiers lead by Vulteius in book 4 and the catalogue of cruel deaths caused by venomous snakes in book 9. Nowadays, these scenes are no longer condemned, but rather acknowledged as highly original elements which Lucan brought into epic[1]. Consequently, new commentaries to these books are urgently needed.

In addition to the exciting naval battle, book 3 includes several traditional themes, such as a dream (9-35), exchanges of speeches (esp. 112-153 and 298-372) a catalogue of forces (169-297), and shorter catalogues reflecting the history of Rome (71-97 and 154-168). For this reason too, writing a commentary on book 3 seemed a promising enterprise. The variety of themes, and the presence of both traditional and original material make it worthwile to study the position of Lucan's work in the context of ancient literary tradition.

1.2. This introduction

In the following introduction to the commentary, I will explain the general intentions of this book and the principles I have applied in selecting my material.

The introduction is more detailed and longer than is usual. Commentaries have been used by European grammarians, teachers and scientists for more than 2,000 years, and are still a widely accepted instrument of philology. However, this does not imply that all modern commentaries share the same principles and methods. Modern scholars have increasingly grown aware of the subjective elements they inevitably bring to their work. Commentaries are no exception. On the contrary, a commentator's individual preferences and interests as well as his or her personal taste tend to be of central importance in his or her work.

Therefore, in a commentary, as in any other scholarly work on literature, the basic assumptions and methods which have been followed should be made as explicit as possible.

1.3. Scope and aim of this commentary

The present commentary on book 3 of Lucan's BC aims at serving basically the same purpose as commentaries from antiquity onwards: to clarify and explain the text. Lucan's Latin is often difficult or even obscure, and can hardly be read without additional tools. The commentary intends to give readers an easier access to the text.

For this reason, scholarly discussions have been restricted. Recent scholarship has been fully used, and its results are assented to or criticised in numerous places.

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[1]. For the naval battle near Massilia, see my commentary on 509-762. For the snake episode, see references mentioned on 509-762 (4). The Vulteius-episode has recently been discussed by SAYLOR 1990.

However, in many more places such discussion is omitted, because it would have interfered with the reader's understanding of the text itself.

On the other hand, although the book is primarily designed as an accompanying volume to the text, it intends to be more than merely a basic tool providing summaries, explanations of difficult constructions and idiom, or references to extra-literary *realia*. It is founded on an interpretation of BC as a whole, presented below. This interpretation is concretized in the separate entries of the commentary.

1.4. Rhetorical epic

Lucan's epic deals with a historical theme, the civil war between Pompey and Caesar in 49-47 B.C.. Accordingly, it may be considered a specimen of the genre of historical epic. However, on closer scrutiny, the poet appears to be very free in his treatment of the historical material. Wherever needed, historical elements are omitted or transformed, or new details are added; cf. esp. SCHRÖTER 1975, further e.g. GOEBEL 1981 and the introductions to scenes in the present commentary. History is clearly made subordinate to the poet's main literary interests.

In a similar way, elements from other fields are exploited by the poet rather than faithfully rendered. Neither religion nor Stoic philosophy seems to be the dominating element; cf. LIEBESCHÜTZ 1979 for the former, SCHOTES 1969, BILLERBECK 1985 and COLISH 1985 for the latter. Didactical elements are integrated but do not gain the upper hand either; cf. LAUSBERG 1990.

Through the centuries, it had often been thought that political interests dominated BC. The poet's aggression and animosity towards his character Caesar was interpreted as veiled hatred of contemporary Roman emperors, particularly Nero. However, these assumptions were based on what other sources say about Lucan's life, and not on an interpretation of the text itself. Modern scholarship generally rejects a direct political interpretation of the poem; cf. e.g. SCHRIJVERS 1990. A special problem is caused by the proem of book 1; for this see HUNINK 1992[1].

What gives BC its specific character is its consistent *rhetorical* and *pathetic* tone. In a variety of paradoxes, exclamations, bizarre themes and original adaptations of traditional topics, the poet is incessantly searching for pathos and effect illustrating the fundamental paradox underlying the work, the theme of 'civil war'. He particularly favours strong tensions and contrasts, brilliant sententiae and complicated puzzles, all of which display his knowledge and rhetorical talent. He always seems aware of his literary predecessors, in particular Vergil and Ovid, and tries to surpass them in a constant process of *imitatio* and *aemulatio*. Generally speaking, Lucan appears to be looking for maximum *effect* in each individual passage, and uses whatever means available to achieve this aim, even if it involves inconsistencies and contradictions.

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[1]. In that passage, the work is dedicated to Nero as patron of arts and culture in lines of strong and extravagant praise. It is the only place in BC where Nero is actually mentioned. Probably, the flattery is not ironical, but merely conventional. If we discard a political view of BC, there is not even a contradiction of the proem to the rest of the work.

For a long time, the rhetorical nature of BC has been an obstacle to a proper understanding of the text. However, in recent decades more attention has been paid to Lucan's work within the context of Roman declamation and rhetorical practice; see BONNER 1966; MORFORD 1967; RUTZ 1970b; RUTZ 1985,1477-9[1]. This influence is so dominant in BC on all levels, that we may properly call the work a *rhetorical epic*. It does not try to transmit a coherent political or philosophical view, and has no extra-literary intention. Instead it uses its various material to create an amazing piece of literature, intended to amuse and thrill its readers.

In the present commentary, this interpretation of the work is systematically elaborated upon and illustrated in detail. Wherever possible, it intends to bring out the rhetorical nature of the text. Where BC contains historical, philosophical or other scientific ideas, discussion must of course be raised as to whether Lucan's version is complete and correct or not. However, in nearly all of these cases, the answer seems to be of secondary importance. More relevant is the question how such ideas function within the rhetorical framework of the text constructed by the author, and what effects they may have had on the reader.

In many cases, this approach may shed new light upon passages which have remained obscure up to now. Moreover, it nearly always proves possible to retain and explain the traditional text as it has been transmitted (cf. below on the text). Thus, it both meets the requirements of philology and satisfies the demands of modern readers.

2. THE TEXT

MSS tradition

In the Middle Ages, Lucan's BC was extremely popular and its text was widely spread. Over 400 MSS containing parts of the text are extant. Regrettably, contamination and interpolation have been dominant factors from the beginning. Though MSS may be divided into groups, such as earlier and later MSS, no stemma can be made. For an assessment of this untidy MSS tradition cf. TARRANT 1983 and GOTOFF 1971.

The text adopted here

For the constitution of the text in problematic places, editors cannot rely on one or two MSS, but have to consider various possibilities in each individual case. It has been my aim throughout the commentary to adopt readings already present in Lucanean MSS, and to avoid emendations or conjectures. In the words of TARRANT (p.216): 'the intermingling of readings has preserved many ancient variants,

[1]. Various aspects of Lucan's rhetorical technique have attracted attention of scholars as well. For his paradoxes see LEFEVRE 1970; MARTINDALE 1976 and MORETTI 1984. For his pointes see HUBNER 1975; for the pathos SEITZ 1965; for the paraphrase technique SCHRIJVERS 1989. Cf. further e.g. MARTI 1975.

so that the editor's task is often that of selection rather than emendation'; cf. also GOTOFF 1971,95[1].

The text preceding the commentary is based on the recent critical edition by SHACKLETON BAILEY, which is basically a revised version of the text of HOUSMAN. Only in a relatively small number of places does my text depart from SHACKLETON BAILEY's. In most of these cases, SHACKLETON BAILEY had adopted conjectures of his own and thus changed the text; many of his conjectures have also been rejected by BADALI 1989 and VENINI 1990. A list of the places in question may be found after the text itself. For a discussion of textual matters in the separate entries of the commentary, see below (3.3.).

3. THE COMMENTARY

The general scope and aim of the commentary, in relation to the interpretation of BC as a rhetorical epic, have already been indicated above (1.3. and 1.4.). This paragraph is devoted to more practical matters: the structure of the commentary, and the function of both the introductory sections and the separate entries.

3.1. Structure

The structure of the commentary closely reflects that of the text itself. It may be divided into a relatively small number of sections called 'blocks'[2]. In a block, a more or less self-contained part of the action is represented. In most cases, one character functions as the protagonist throughout the section. Blocks can easily be distinguished from each other. In book 3, there are five blocks: (i) 1-46 (Pompey)[3]; (ii) 46-168 (Caesar); (iii) 169-297 (Pompey); (iv) 298-455 (Caesar); (v) 455-762 (no protagonist).

Each block consists of a number of scenes. These may be characterised as basic units dominated by one or more characters, and having a specific function within their blocks. Often, unity of time and place is maintained. The borders between scenes however are not always clearly defined, and in some cases a subdivision may seem slightly arbitrary. Still, some form of division seemed indispensable for the analysis of the text.

Following the structure of the text, the commentary deals with blocks, scenes, and individual lines and words.

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1. However, though most Lucanean scholars avoid emendation, they are not unanimous. GOTOFF's views have been challenged by HÅKANSON 1979,39, and the practice of proposing conjectures to Lucan's text continues; for a recent example see FRASSINETTI 1991.

2. The term was coined by RUTZ 1950; cf. on 46-168 (2).

3. This first part of book 3 continues the final action of book 2 (2,680-736); cf. on 1-46 (2).

3.2. Introductory sections

Each block and each separate scene is preceded by an introductory section. The aim of such a section is to analyse the main line of the tale, within the context of the rest of book 3, BC as a whole, and the historical and literary traditions. This is done in five stages.

First, (i) a brief summary of the actions or events in the section is given. This may also help readers who prefer to read only parts of book 3.

Then, (ii) some remarks are made concerning the structure of the section. This involves both the position of the section within the context of the preceding and following sections, and its inner structure.

Following these general notes, (iii) the poet's handling of historical material is discussed. In many cases it can be indicated in detail in what respects Lucan's version is different from accounts given by historiographers, notably Caesar, Appian, Cassius Dio and Florus.

Closely related are (iv) notes on how Lucan has handled literary themes and motives. Often, a literary aim may account for Lucan's adaptation of historical facts Traditional motifs which Lucan seems to be using are indicated. Particular attention is paid to the way in which he combines or varies them. At the end of part (iv), I have often added some references to other passages in BC which may be compared to the section in question. These references make no claim to be exhaustive, but function as examples.

Finally, (v) in some cases I refer to a surprising influence of the section on works by medieval or later authors. As a rule, only those examples are given to which a reference to scholarly literature could be added. Thus part (v) reflects the state of Lucanean scholarship rather than the history of literature.

3.3. Separate entries

The separate entries dealing with concrete phrases and words form the bulk of the commentary. They contain the information and discussion which seemed relevant for those who study the text. As is usual in commentaries, this includes matters of various nature, which may roughly be divided into textual and grammatical explanations and interpretation. Both of these categories are dealt with below, preceded by some general remarks on the organisation of entries.

Order

The order of the entries closely follows the order of lines in the text, and of words within lines As far as possible, information has been included at places where a reader of Lucan's text might first look for it. For that reason, an idea has sometimes been divided into a number of smaller items or is partly repeated, furthermore, many cross references have been added. As a rule, a word, phrase or phenomenon is discussed where it first occurs, with cross references in following

entries. However, where repetition is more frequent, cross references have been omitted[1].

The headword(s) of an entry, printed in bold type, may be either a single word, two words, a combination of words not appearing alongside one another, or a complete phrase (examples: **propulit**; **lumina terra**; **medium...profundum**; **omnis - fluctus**). Sometimes merely the beginning of a section is indicated (example: **inde soporifero...**).

I have not maintained a strict order of elements within the entries. As a rule, the information which seemed essential for a proper understanding of the text comes first, whereas less urgent elements, usually related to the literary and non-literary contexts are dealt with later. Some less directly relevant but interesting details have been added in footnotes.

Quotations and references

In accordance with the main aims of this commentary, I have restricted the number of quotations and references, although nearly every entry still contains several. However, quotations from scholarly literature (other than translations) are almost completely absent. Modern scholarship on Lucan is referred to rather than quoted at length[2].

Generally speaking, I refer to books and articles which I have found useful rather than to those with which I disagree. Although in many cases discussion of the latter is explicit, I have attempted to avoid lengthy and frequent polemics[3]. Items are listed in chronological order. If possible, I refer only to the most recent scholarly literature, in which older literature is usually mentioned. With a few minor exceptions, I have not referred to literature to which I did not have access. For the abbreviated forms of references, see the introductory section of the bibliography.

Where I have borrowed ideas and conclusions of others, I have indicated my sources. There is one exception to this rule. Like many other commentators, I have felt free to use without further ackowledgement collections of parallels (e.g. SCHWEMMLER 1916; MICHLER 1914 or MEYER 1924[4]), as well as scattered

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1 For reasons of space, no index of all Latin words could be added; therefore, a reader may occasionally need to consult an index or concordance of Lucan, as DEFERRARI 1940, or refer to the Latin text on the CD-Rom of the Packard Humanities Institute, which may be consulted at many university classics departments.

2 Ancient and medieval scholarship, as represented in the various collections of scholia and commentaries on Lucan, has been employed where possible However, in these early periods, many questions raised by Lucan's text were of a different nature, and largely reflect contemporary interests For modern usage this material is of rather limited value.

3. Consequently, some Lucanean scholars are hardly mentioned at all in this book. Thus, I have almost completely left outside of consideration the commentary of FRANCKEN. It would have required too much space to challenge all his views in detail.

4. Such collections are not named in the separate entries of the commentary, but they are listed in the bibliography

references in other commentaries, indexes of books and articles devoted to other themes.

In other cases I found my views more or less confirmed by others. Here, I have tried to pay due respect to scholars' opinions without dissimulating those of my own.

Ancient texts are quoted only where they illustrate a special point, where they present a remarkable parallel or contrast to the Lucanean passage, or, in the case of authors living after Lucan, where they seem a conscious echo of it. A list of quoted ancient texts is given in Appendix 1. Latin or Greek quotations have not been translated or explained.

Other parallels are added without quotation. These references have only been given where they seemed relevant to the passage in question. I have preferred parallels to authors living before Lucan, since these best illustrate his text. The order in lists of parallels is mainly chronological, but parallels from book 3 itself and other books of BC are normally located before parallels to other texts. These lists of parallels do not claim to be exhaustive, as may be seen by the frequently added 'e.g.' and 'a.o.'. Their function is to show the relation of Lucan's text to other texts.

Ancient texts are referred to by means of standard abbreviations (based on LSJ and OLD)[1]. Italics are not used here but only when a title given in full; e.g. 'Vergil's *Aeneid*'. Numbers of books, sections and lines have been standardized and, when necessary, tacitly corrected.

Text

For the text adopted for the commentary, see above (2.) No critical apparatus has been added to the text, but places which present textual problems are fully discussed in the commentary. Variant readings, printed in italics[2], are dealt with in many places.

I have often reported variant readings not taken into account by editors of Lucan until now. For these I have used the excerpts of GOTOFF 1971, which have substantially broadened our views on Lucanean MSS; for the MSS he has used, see the list of abbreviations.

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1. A few exceptions are made: references to BC are usually given by numbers only, not preceded by 'Luc.'. Lucan's fragments are quoted from the 1982 edition of the *Poetae Latini Minores* by BÜCHNER. References to Homer follow the normal pattern, rather than the short form with Greek letters Some authors are quoted in modern standard editions, as Ennius' *Annals* in the edition of Skutsch (Sk.) or Lucilius in Warmington (W.). Ancient grammarians and commentators are given a slightly longer abbreviation, e g. Serv on Verg A.6,1, Prisc. GLK (=Grammatici Latini, edition Keil) 1,1. Late Latin authors not figuring in the OLD are given common abbreviations, e.g. Amm.Marc. for Ammianus Marcellinus. Other abbreviations used in this book are explained in the list of abbreviations at the end of this introduction.

2. In general, Latin or Greek words used by ancient authors are printed in italics. Names have been printed in italics only where they represent readings of MSS Latin quotations of later authors (e.g medieval and modern scholars) are printed within single quotation marks.

Explanation

To elucidate the precise meaning of the text, translations of words, phrases or lines are often given or discussed. They are printed in single quotation marks. Unless indicated otherwise, translations are mine. Since they usually clarify a complex or obscure point, they tend to be prosaic and literal. However, in many places suggestions for a more free translation are made as well.

In less difficult cases, it seemed sufficient to indicate the syntax of a sentence or the grammatical status of a word. Other methods employed in this field are paraphrasing, summarizing, and discussing related terms and synonyms.

In this more formal part of the entries, matters of word order, rhythm and sound, prosody and metrics are discussed as well. Special attention is paid to fixed verse beginnings or verse endings[1], to words located at a particular place in the hexameter[2], words of a 'prosaic' colour[3] and words belonging to particular semantic groups[4].

Wherever the poet refers to extra-literary realia, such as names, Roman institutions or historical events, these are explained. The same goes for consciously used scholarly details from various fields, such as geography, astronomy, maritime technology and military strategy.

Interpretation

After establishing the meaning of words and phrases, attemps may be made to interpret them. The underlying model of interpretation used in this commentary has already been explained above; cf. 1.3. and 1.4..

The basic assumption I have constantly made is that even a problematic or strange element in Lucan's text must make some sort of sense, and should not be too easily explained as a corruption of the text, a technical or moral failure of the author, or a needless repetition or filler. We know enough about BC to conclude that it is a carefully composed poem by a sharp, intelligent rhetorician who is not likely to have inserted details without some special intention.

An element can nearly always be shown to fulfill some function within the immediate or broader context. In book 3, many details contribute to the consistently

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1. I regularly refer to SCHUMANN 1983 for this. Regrettably, this lexicon omits many relevant places, including several from the present book of BC.

2. I have included remarks on words (other than the most common ones) which occur more than 50 times at the same position in Lucan's verse. In some significant cases, words occurring less frequently have also been pointed out.

3. For this subject, the main reference work is still AXELSON 1945. I have also used WATSON 1985 and LYNE 1989.

4. To mention the most important groups: terms for parts of the human body, on which see ADAMS 1980; astronomical terms, LE BOEUFFLE 1977 and 1987; words for colours, PATERNI 1987; nautical words, SAINT-DENIS 1935b, ROUGÉ 1981 a.o.; names, SWANSON 1967 a.o.; terms for dying and killing, WEBER 1969.

negative image of Caesar and Caesarean Rome, and the mainly positive image of the inhabitants of Massilia. Moreover, every detail seems designed for a particular effect. A careful and detailed reading of the text has been applied to bring out such features.

Though realia are duly explained (cf above), special attention is paid to the way they are employed by the poet. Often the poet seems to be making 'errors' or selections, notably in the field of history. In some cases, he may unwittingly really be wrong, but in many others I interpret his text as the result of conscious adaptation of material to serve a specific purpose

Thus Lucan's selection of ethnographical facts in the catalogue of Pompey's forces (169-297) seems to result from his desire to suggest world wide dimensions of the conflict, rather than to be scientifically accurate. Similarly, his handling of historical material in the first stages of the battle of Massilia is shown to reflect his interest in an elementary conflict of right and wrong Some details are added and others omitted to shed a particular light upon the Massilians on the one hand, and the Caesareans on the other, even at the cost of distortion and partiality.

Throughout the book, it is indicated where and how Lucan uses literary techniques, as e g. comparisons, speeches, paradoxes, sententiae, paraphrases and elementary symbols, and how these reflect his interest in pathos, amplification, contrasts and other effects[1].

I have been particularly concerned with detecting possible allusions to literary predecessors, notably Homer, Vergil and Ovid, but also Lucretius, Horatius, Manilius, and others. In many cases, the poet appears to have created subtle variations of traditional motifs, or to have combined them in a new, surprising manner In particular, many elements seem designed as striking, ominous or absurd contrasts to Vergil's *Aeneid*, a model Lucan constantly strives to equal and surpass[2]. Many examples of this may be found in the fighting scenes illustrating the naval battle (509-762). However, I am aware that many ancient literary works have been utterly lost, and consequently, that prudence is necessary here[3].

Though our knowledge of Roman declamation practice is relatively limited, I have attempted to illustrate its possible influences upon Lucan's work. In some instances, the work of Lucan's relative Seneca Pater provides interesting parallels. Special attention has been paid to the works of his son, Seneca the philosopher, a contemporary and uncle of Lucan. Echo's of Seneca's philosophical writings and of

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1 On Lucan's rhetorical techniques, cf above, 1 4 with note

2 For the 'optimistic' interpretation of Vergil in this commentary, see on 15 (with note) The emphasis on Lucan's rivalry with Vergil has often been carried too far by scholars They have largely neglected his other main models, notably Ovid

3 Cf e g JAL 1982,90-1, who gives a detailed list of well over 20 authors before Lucan whose lost works are known to have dealt with 'civil wars' It is impossible to say to what extent Lucan may have been influenced by such prose works and poems Some of his apparent innovations may actually be imitations of such works However, I have not speculated further on this matter and have often ascribed innovations and novelties to Lucan himself

his tragedies can be detected frequently. Significant examples can be found at points where Lucan appears to be modernizing epic motifs, e.g. in the section on the felling of the grove near Massilia (399-455).

To a much lesser extent, echos of Lucan in later writings are indicated. The commentary mainly serves to clarify and interpret Lucan's text as it has been written. Therefore, later developments are considered to be of secondary importance. However, some interesting points have been selected here.

A parallel with later epic writers is indicated wherever it constitutes a clear imitation of Lucan, or illustrates the development of a motif or theme. Mainly Silver Latin epic poets (Valerius, Statius and Silius) have been taken into account, but late Latin poets like Claudian are occasionally referred to as well. I have tried to indicate all places where a phrase of Lucan's is quoted by an ancient grammarian or commentator. For the medieval and modern periods this was impossible. In the separate entries of the commentary, these periods are represented only by a few selected examples.

For the sake of clarity and briefness, I have reduced the number of technical and complicated terms to a minimum, attempting not to indulge either in philological jargon or in pompous prose. On the whole, I have equally refrained from applying theories currently used by literary theorists, such as deconstructionalism, feminist criticism or narratology, even though in my view, BC, like any other text, may well be subjected to analysis along such lines, and some of these methods even seem promising and relevant. To illustrate this, I have made one exception to the rule just stated: in a limited number of cases (to be found in the index of names and subjects), I have employed a central term of narratology, 'focalization', to point to a specific nuance in the text; cf. on e.g. 6.

Nonetheless, the time seems not yet ripe for a narratological or deconstructionist commentary on Lucan. His text still presents too many problems of interpretation which require discussion and research. In this commentary an attempt has been made to locate these problems and explore ways of solving them. Though it is based on a model of interpretation and often breaks fresh ground, it adopts conventional philological standards in remaining as close to the text as possible. But far from claiming to have definitive answers, it intends to encourage other, new approaches to Lucan.

4. BIBLIOGRAPHY AND INDEXES

See the introductory sections to the items at the end of the book.

5. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Apart from standard abbreviations to scholarly literature and ancient texts as mentioned above, the following abbreviations have been employed:

Abbreviations

A.D.	: Anno Domini
Adn.	: Adnotationes super Lucanum
a.l.	: ad locum (on the passage mentioned).
a.o.	: and others (also 'e.a.')
app.crit.	: critical apparatus
B.C.	: before Christ
BC	: *Bellum Civile*
cent.	: century
cf.	: confer (also used is 'see'[1])
Comm.Bern.	: Commenta Bernensia
e.a.	: et alia (and others) (also 'e.a.')
e.g.	: exempli gratia (for example) (also 'i.a.')
i.a.	: inter alia (among others) (also 'e.g.')
ibid.	: ibidem (at the same place)
LHS	: Leumann, Hofmann, Szantyr, *Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik*
LSJ	: Liddel, Scott and Jones, *A Greek-English lexicon*
MS	: manuscript
MSS	: manuscripts
n	: note
OLD	: *Oxford Latin Dictionary*
RE	: Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll a.o, *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*
sc.	: scilicet (that is; namely)
s.v.	: sub voce (under heading)
TLL	: *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*
v.l.	: varia lectio (variant reading)
wn	: with note

Numbers:

34f	: 34-35
34-5	: 34-35
34ff	: 34 and following

[1]. Often these two terms are used interchangeably to refer to ancient texts, scholarly literature, works of reference or places elsewhere in this commentary. However, sometimes a slight distinction is made, 'cf.' indicating direct references, and 'see' indicating more remote, less important references.

134-69 : 134-169
8,34 (...) 89 : 8,34 and 8,89 (mainly in lists of parallels)

Signs (with *w*ords or *l*etters):

w...w	: the combination of indicated words which do not immediately follow each other
w - w	: the entire phrase included between the first word and the last word
(w)	: in headword of an entry: the word occurs in the next or previous verse
(...)	: words in a quotation have been left out
< ll >	: words or letters added by editors or translators
[ll]	: words or letters omitted by editors

MSS:

MSS are indicated according to the conspectus siglorum of GOTOFF 1971:

M	Montepessulanus H 113 (9th cent., second quarter or middle)
Z	Parisinus bibl.publ. 10314 (9th cent., second quarter)
Z^2	corrections made in Z (9th cent., second quarter or middle)
A	Parisinus bibl.publ.'nouv.acq.' 1626 (9th cent., second quarter or middle)
A^2	corrections made in A (9th cent., middle)
A^v	variant readings in A (9th cent., middle)
B	Bernensis 45 (9th cent., middle or third quarter)
R	Montepessulanus H 362 (9th cent., fourth quarter)
F	Parisinus bibl.publ. 10403 (9th cent., second quarter
Y	Leidensis Vossianus Q 16 (10th cent.)
Q	Parisinus bibl.publ. 7900 A (9th or 10th cent.)
G	Bruxellensis bibl.Burgundicae 5330-5332 (10th cent.)
U	Leidensis Vossianus F 63 (10th cent.)
V	Leidensis Vossianus Q 51 (10th cent.)
P	Parisinus bibl.publ. 7502 (10th cent.)
E	Parisinus bibl.publ. 9346 (11th cent.)
W	Vaticanus Reginensis 1634 (11th or 12th cent.)
J	Vaticanus Ottobonianus 1210 and Vaticanus Palatinus 869 (12th cent.)
N	Vindobonensis 16 and Neapolitanus iv A 8, cod.rescripti frag. (4th cent.)
S	Vaticanus Palatinus 23, cod. rescripti frag. (4th or 5th cent.)
C	lemma of the Codex Bernensis 370 or the Commenta Bernensia (9th or 10th cent.)
c	reading of the Commenta Bernensia different from the lemma.

TEXT

Propulit ut classem velis cedentibus Auster
incumbens mediumque rates movere profundum
omnis in Ionios spectabat navita fluctus:
solus ab Hesperia non flexit lumina terra
Magnus, dum patrios portus, dum litora numquam
ad visus reditura suos tectumque cacumen
nubibus et dubios cernit vanescere montis.
Inde soporifero cesserunt languida somno
membra ducis; diri tum plena horroris imago
visa caput maestum per hiantes Iulia terras
tollere et accenso furialis stare sepulchro.
'sedibus Elysiis campoque expulsa piorum
ad Stygias' inquit 'tenebras manesque nocentes
post bellum civile trahor. vidi ipsa tenentis
Eumenidas, quaterent quas vestris lampadas armis;
praeparat innumeras puppis Acherontis adusti
portitor; in multas laxantur Tartara poenas;
vix operi cunctae dextra properante sorores
sufficiunt, lassant rumpentis stamina Parcas.
coniuge me laetos duxisti, Magne, triumphos:
Fortuna est mutata toris, semperque potentes
detrahere in cladem fato damnata maritos
innupsit tepido paelex Cornelia busto.
haereat illa tuis per bella, per aequora, signis,
dum non securos liceat mihi rumpere somnos
et nullum vestro vacuum sit tempus amori
sed teneat Caesarque dies et Iulia noctes.
me non Lethaeae, coniunx, oblivia ripae
immemorem fecere tui, regesque silentum
permisere sequi. veniam te bella gerente
in medias acies. numquam tibi, Magne, per umbras
perque meos manes genero non esse licebit;
abscidis frustra ferro tua pignora: bellum
te faciet civile meum.' sic fata refugit
umbra per amplexus trepidi dilapsa mariti.
Ille, dei quamvis cladem manesque minentur,
maior in arma ruit certa cum mente malorum,
et 'quid' ait 'vani terremur imagine visus?
aut nihil est sensus animis a morte relictum
aut mors ipsa nihil.' Titan iam pronus in undas
ibat et igniferi tantum demerserat orbis
quantum desse solet lunae, seu plena futura est
seu iam plena fuit: tunc obtulit hospita tellus
puppibus accessus faciles; legere rudentes

et posito remis petierunt litora malo.
Caesar, ut emissas venti rapuere carinas,
absconditque fretum classes, et litore solus
dux stetit Hesperio, non illum gloria pulsi
laetificat Magni: queritur, quod tuta per aequor
terga ferant hostes. neque enim iam sufficit ulla
praecipiti fortuna viro, nec vincere tanti,
ut bellum differret, erat tum pectore curas
expulit armorum pacique intentus agebat
quoque modo vanos populi conciret amores,
gnarus et irarum causas et summa favoris
annona momenta trahi. namque asserit urbis
sola fames, emiturque metus, cum segne potentes
vulgus alunt· nescit plebes ieiuna timere.
Curio Sicanias transcendere iussus in urbes,
qua mare tellurem subitis aut obruit undis
aut scidit, et medias fecit sibi litora terras:
vis illic ingens pelagi, semperque laborant
aequora, ne rupti repetant confinia montes.
bellaque Sardoas etiam sparguntur in oras.
utraque frugiferis est insula nobilis arvis,
nec prius Hesperiam longinquis messibus ullae
nec Romana magis complerunt horrea terrae.
ubere vix glaebae superat, cessantibus Austris
cum medium nubes Borea cogente sub axem
effusis magnum Libye tulit imbribus annum.
Haec ubi sunt provisa duci, tunc agmina victor
non armata trahens sed pacis habentia vultum
tecta petit patriae. pro, si remeasset in urbem,
Gallorum tantum populis Arctoque subacta,
quam seriem rerum longa praemittere pompa,
quas potuit belli facies! ut vincula Rheno
Oceanoque daret, celsos et Gallia currus
nobilis ut flavis sequeretur mixta Britannis.
perdidit o qualem vincendo plura triumphum!
non illum laetis vadentem coetibus urbes
sed tacitae videre metu, nec constitit usquam
obvia turba duci. gaudet tamen esse timori
tam magno populis et se non mallet amari.
Iamque et praecipitis superaverat Anxuris arces,
et qua Pomptinas via dividit uda paludes,
qua sublime nemus, Scythicae qua regna Dianae,
quaque iter est Latiis ad summam fascibus Albam;
excelsa de rupe procul iam conspicit urbem

Arctoi toto non visam tempore belli
miratusque suae sic fatur moenia Romae:
'tene, deum sedes, non ullo Marte coacti
deseruere viri? pro qua pugnabitur urbe?
di melius, quod non Latias Eous in oras
nunc furor incubuit nec iuncto Sarmata velox
Pannonio Dacisque Getes admixtus: habenti
tam pavidum tibi, Roma, ducem Fortuna pepercit
quod bellum civile fuit.'
Sic fatur et urbem
attonitam terrore subit. namque ignibus atris
creditur, ut captae, rapturus moenia Romae
sparsurusque deos. fuit haec mensura timoris:
velle putant quodcumque potest. non omina fausta,
non fictas laeto voces simulare tumultu,
vix odisse vacat. Phoebea Palatia complet
turba patrum nullo cogendi iure senatus
e latebris educta suis; non consule sacrae
fulserunt sedes, non, proxima lege potestas,
praetor adest, vacuaeque loco cessere curules.
omnia Caesar erat; privatae curia vocis
testis adest. sedere patres censere parati,
si regnum, si templa sibi iugulumque senatus
exiliumque petat. melius, quod plura iubere
erubuit quam Roma pati.
Tamen exit in iram,
viribus an possint obsistere iura, per unum
Libertas experta virum; pugnaxque Metellus,
ut videt ingenti Saturnia templa revelli
mole, rapit gressus et Caesaris agmina rumpens
ante fores nondum reseratae constitit aedis
(usque adeo solus ferrum mortemque timere
auri nescit amor; pereunt discrimine nullo
amissae leges sed, pars vilissima rerum,
certamen movistis, opes), prohibensque rapina
victorem clara testatur voce tribunus:
'non nisi per nostrum vobis percussa patebunt
templa latus, nullasque feres nisi sanguine sacro
sparsas, raptor, opes. certe violata potestas
invenit ista deos; Crassumque in bella secutae
saeva tribuniciae voverunt proelia dirae.
detege iam ferrum; neque enim tibi turba verenda est
spectatrix scelerum: deserta stamus in urbe.
non feret e nostro sceleratus praemia miles:

sunt quos prosternas populi, quae moenia dones.
pacis ad exhaustae spolium non cogit egestas:
bellum, Caesar, habes.' his magnam victor in iram
vocibus accensus: 'vanam spem mortis honestae
concipis: haud' inquit 'iugulo se polluet isto
nostra, Metelle, manus; dignum te Caesaris ira
nullus honor faciet. te vindice tuta relicta est
Libertas? non usque adeo permiscuit imis
longus summa dies ut non, si voce Metelli
servantur leges, malint a Caesare tolli.'
dixerat, et nondum foribus cedente tribuno
acrior ira subit: saevos circumspicit enses
oblitus simulare togam; tum Cotta Metellum
compulit audaci nimium desistere coepto.
'libertas' inquit 'populi, quem regna coercent,
libertate perit; cuius servaveris umbram,
si quidquid iubeare velis. tot rebus iniquis
paruimus victi; venia est haec sola pudoris
degenerisque metus, nil iam potuisse negari.
ocius avertat diri mala semina belli.
damna movent populos si quos sua iura tuentur:
non sibi sed domino gravis est quae servit egestas.'
Protinus abducto patuerunt templa Metello.
tunc rupes Tarpeia sonat magnoque reclusas
testatur stridore fores; tum conditus imo
eruitur templo multis non tactus ab annis
Romani census populi, quem Punica bella,
quem dederat Perses, quem victi praeda Philippi,
quod tibi, Roma, fuga Gallus trepidante reliquit,
quo te Fabricius regi non vendidit auro,
quidquid parcorum mores servastis avorum,
quod dites Asiae populi misere tributum
victorique dedit Minoia Creta Metello,
quod Cato longinqua vexit super aequora Cypro.
tunc Orientis opes captorumque ultima regum
quae Pompeianis praelata est gaza triumphis
egeritur; tristi spoliantur templa rapina,
pauperiorque fuit tum primum Caesare Roma.
Interea totum Magni fortuna per orbem
secum casuras in proelia moverat urbes.
proxima vicino vires dat Graecia bello.
Phocaicas Amphissa manus scopulosaque Cirrha
Parnasosque iugo misit desertus utroque.
Boeoti coiere duces, quos impiger ambit

fatidica Cephisos aqua Cadmeaque Dirce,
Pisaeaeque manus populisque per aequora mittens
Sicaniis Alpheos aquas. Tum Maenala liquit
Arcas et Herculeam miles Trachinius Oeten.
Thesproti Dryopesque ruunt, quercusque silentis
Chaonio veteres liquerunt vertice Selloe.
exhausit totas quamvis dilectus Athenas,
exiguae Phoebea tenent navalia puppes,
tresque petunt veram credi Salamina carinae.
iam dilecta Iovi centenis venit in arma
Creta vetus populis Cnososque agitare pharetras
docta nec Eois peior Gortyna sagittis;
tum qui Dardaniam tenet Oricon et vagus altis
dispersus silvis Athaman et nomine prisco
Encheliae versi testantes funera Cadmi,
Colchis et Hadriaca spumans Apsyrtos in unda;
Penei qui rura colunt, quorumque labore
Thessalus Haemoniam vomer proscindit Iolcon.
inde lacessitum primo mare, cum rudis Argo
miscuit ignotas temerato litore gentes
primaque cum ventis pelagique furentibus undis
composuit mortale genus, fatisque per illam
accessit mors una ratem. tum linquitur Haemus
Thracius et populum Pholoe mentita biformem.
deseritur Strymon tepido committere Nilo
Bistonias consuetus aves et barbara Cone,
Sarmaticas ubi perdit aquas sparsamque profundo
multifidi Peucen unum caput alluit Histri,
Mysiaque et gelido tellus perfusa Caico
Idalis et nimium glaebis exilis Arisbe,
quique colunt Pitanen, et quae tua munera, Pallas,
lugent damnatae Phoebo victore Celaenae,
qua celer et rectis descendens Marsya ripis
errantem Maeandron adit mixtusque refertur,
passaque ab auriferis tellus exire metallis
Pactolon, qua culta secat non vilior Hermus.
Iliacae quoque signa manus perituraque castra
ominibus petiere suis, nec fabula Troiae
continuit Phrygiique ferens se Caesar Iuli.
accedunt Syriae populi ; desertus Orontes
et felix, sic fama, Ninos, ventosa Damascos
Gazaque et arbusto palmarum dives Idume
et Tyros instabilis pretiosaque murice Sidon.
has ad bella rates non flexo limite ponti

certior haud ullis duxit Cynosura carinis.
(Phoenices primi, famae si creditur, ausi
mansuram rudibus vocem signare figuris:
nondum flumineas Memphis contexere biblos
noverat, et saxis tantum volucresque feraeque
sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas.)
deseritur Taurique nemus Perseaque Tarsos
Coryciumque patens exesis rupibus antrum;
Mallos et extremae resonant navalibus Aegae,
itque Cilix iusta iam non pirata carina.
Movit et Eoos bellorum fama recessus,
qua colitur Ganges, toto qui solus in orbe
ostia nascenti contraria solvere Phoebo
audet et adversum fluctus impellit in Eurum,
hic ubi Pellaeus post Tethyos aequora ductor
constitit et magno vinci se fassus ab orbe est;
quaque ferens rapidum diviso gurgite fontem
vastis Indus aquis mixtum non sentit Hydaspen;
quique bibunt tenera dulcis ab harundine sucos,
et qui tinguentes croceo medicamine crinem
fluxa coloratis astringunt carbasa gemmis,
quique suas struxere pyras vivique calentis
conscendere rogos. pro, quanta est gloria genti
iniecisse manum fatis vitaque repletos
quod superest donasse deis! venere feroces
Cappadoces, duri populus non cultor Amani,
Armeniusque tenens volventem saxa Niphaten.
aethera tangentis silvas liquere Choatrae.
ignotum vobis, Arabes, venistis in orbem
umbras mirati nemorum non ire sinistras.
tum furor extremos movit Romanus Orestas
Carmanosque duces, quorum iam flexus in Austrum
aether non totam mergi tamen aspicit Arcton
lucet et exigua velox ibi nocte Bootes,
Aethiopumque solum, quod non premeretur ab ulla
signiferi regione poli, nisi poplite lapso
ultima curvati procederet ungula Tauri,
quaque caput rapido tollit cum Tigride magnus
Euphrates, quos non diversis fontibus edit
Persis, et incertum, tellus si misceat amnes,
quod potius sit nomen aquis. sed sparsus in agros
fertilis Euphrates Phariae vice fungitur undae;
at Tigrim subito tellus absorbet hiatu
occultosque tegit cursus rursusque renatum

fonte novo flumen pelagi non abnegat undis.
inter Caesareas acies diversaque signa
pugnaces dubium Parthi tenuere favorem
contenti fecisse duos. tinxere sagittas
errantes Scythiae populi, quos gurgite Bactros
includit gelido vastisque Hyrcania silvis;
hinc Lacedaemonii, moto gens aspera freno,
Heniochi saevisque affinis Sarmata Moschis;
Colchorum qua rura secat ditissima Phasis,
qua Croeso fatalis Halys, qua vertice lapsus
Riphaeo Tanais diversi nomina mundi
imposuit ripis Asiaeque et terminus idem
Europae, mediae dirimens confinia terrae,
nunc hunc, nunc illum, qua flectitur, ampliat orbem;
quaque, fretum torrens, Maeotidos egerit undas
Pontus, et Herculeis aufertur gloria metis,
Oceanumque negant solas admittere Gadis;
hinc Essedoniae gentes auroque ligatas
substringens Arimaspe comas; hinc fortis Arius
longaque Sarmatici solvens ieiunia belli
Massagetes, quo fugit, equo volucresque Geloni.
non, cum Memnoniis deducens agmina regnis
Cyrus et effusis numerato milite telis
descendit Perses, fraternique ultor amoris
aequora cum tantis percussit classibus, unum
tot reges habuere ducem, coiere nec umquam
tam variae cultu gentes, tam dissona vulgi
ora. tot immensae comites missura ruinae
excivit populos et dignas funere Magni
exequias Fortuna dedit. non corniger Hammon
mittere Marmaricas cessavit in arma catervas,
quidquid ab occiduis Libye patet arida Mauris
usque Paraetonias Eoa ad litora Syrtis.
acciperet felix ne non semel omnia Caesar,
vincendum pariter Pharsalia praestitit orbem.
Ille ubi deseruit trepidantis moenia Romae
agmine nubiferam rapto super evolat Alpem;
cumque alii famae populi terrore paverent
Phocais in dubiis ausa est servare iuventus
non Graia levitate fidem signataque iura,
et causas, non fata, sequi. tamen ante furorem
indomitum duramque viri deflectere mentem
pacifico sermone parant hostemque propinquum
orant Cecropiae praelata fronde Minervae:

'semper in externis populo communia vestro
Massiliam bellis testatur fata tulisse
comprensa est Latiis quaecumque annalibus aetas.
et nunc, ignoto si quos petis orbe triumphos,
accipe devotas externa in proelia dextras.
at, si funestas acies, si dira paratis
proelia discordes, lacrimas civilibus armis
secretumque damus. tractentur vulnera nulla
sacra manu. si caelicolis furor arma dedisset
aut si terrigenae temptarent astra gigantes,
non tamen auderet pietas humana vel armis
vel votis prodesse Iovi, sortisque deorum
ignarum mortale genus per fulmina tantum
sciret adhuc caelo solum regnare Tonantem.
adde quod innumerae concurrunt undique gentes,
nec sic horret iners scelerum contagia mundus
ut gladiis egeant civilia bella coactis.
sit mens ista quidem cunctis, ut vestra recusent
fata, nec haec alius committat proelia miles.
cui non conspecto languebit dextra parente
telaque diversi prohibebunt spargere fratres?
finis adest rerum, si non committitis ullis
arma, quibus fas est. nobis haec summa precandi:
terribilis aquilas infestaque signa relinquas
urbe procul nostrisque velis te credere muris
excludique sinas admisso Caesare bellum.
sit locus exceptus sceleri, Magnoque tibique
tutus, ut, invictae fatum si consulat urbi,
foedera si placeant, sit quo veniatis inermes.
vel, cum tanta vocent discrimina Martis Hiberi,
quid rapidum deflectis iter? non pondera rerum
nec momenta sumus, numquam felicibus armis
usa manus, patriae primis a sedibus exul,
et post translatas exustae Phocidos arces
moenibus exiguis alieno in litore tuti,
illustrat quos sola fides. si claudere muros
obsidione paras et vi perfringere portas,
excepisse faces tectis et tela parati,
undarum raptos aversis fontibus haustus
quaerere et effossam sitientes lambere terram
et, desit si larga Ceres, tunc horrida cerni
foedaque contingi maculato attingere morsu.
nec pavet hic populus pro libertate subire
obsessum Poeno gessit quae Marte Saguntum.

pectoribus rapti matrum frustraque trahentes
ubera sicca fame medios mittentur in ignis,
uxor et a caro poscet sibi fata marito,
vulnera miscebunt fratres bellumque coacti
hoc potius civile gerent.' sic Graia iuventus
finierat, cum turbato iam prodita vultu
ira ducis tandem testata est voce dolorem:
'vana movet Graios nostri fiducia cursus:
quamvis Hesperium mundi properemus ad axem
Massiliam delere vacat. gaudete, cohortes:
obvia praebentur fatorum munere bella.
ventus ut amittit vires, nisi robore densae
occurrunt silvae, spatio diffusus inani,
utque perit magnus nullis obstantibus ignis,
sic hostes mihi desse nocet, damnumque putamus
armorum, nisi qui vinci potuere rebellant.
sed, si solus eam dimissis degener armis,
tunc mihi tecta patent. iam non excludere tantum,
inclusisse volunt. at enim contagia belli
dira fugant. dabitis poenas pro pace petita,
et nihil esse meo discetis tutius aevo
quam duce me bellum.'
Sic postquam fatus, ad urbem
haud trepidam convertit iter; tunc moenia clausa
conspicit et densa iuvenum vallata corona.
haud procul a muris tumulus surgentis in altum
telluris parvum diffuso vertice campum
explicat : haec patiens longo munimine cingi
visa duci rupes tutisque aptissima castris.
proxima pars urbis celsam consurgit in arcem
par tumulo, mediisque sedent convallibus arva.
tunc res immenso placuit statura labore,
aggere diversos vasto committere colles.
sed prius, ut totam, qua terra cingitur, urbem
clauderet, a summis perduxit ad aequora castris
longum Caesar opus, fontesque et pabula campi
amplexus fossa densas tollentia pinnas
caespitibus crudaque extruxit bracchia terra.
iam satis hoc Graiae memorandum contigit urbi
aeternumque decus, quod non impulsa nec ipso
strata metu tenuit flagrantis in omnia belli
praecipitem cursum, raptisque a Caesare cunctis
vincitur una mora. quantum est quod fata tenentur
quodque virum toti properans imponere mundo

hos perdit Fortuna dies! tunc omnia late
procumbunt nemora et spoliantur robore silvae,
ut, cum terra levis mediam virgultaque molem
suspendant, structa laterum compage ligatam
artet humum, pressus ne cedat turribus agger.
Lucus erat longo numquam violatus ab aevo
obscurum cingens conexis aera ramis
et gelidas alte summotis solibus umbras.
hunc non ruricolae Panes nemorumque potentes
Silvani Nymphaeque tenent, sed barbara ritu
sacra deum; structae diris altaribus arae
omnisque humanis lustrata cruoribus arbor.
si qua fidem meruit superos mirata vetustas,
illis et volucres metuunt insistere ramis
et lustris recubare ferae; nec ventus in illas
incubuit silvas excussaque nubibus atris
fulgura: non ulli frondem praebentibus aurae
arboribus suus horror inest. tum plurima nigris
fontibus unda cadit, simulacraque maesta deorum
arte carent caesisque extant informia truncis.
ipse situs putrique facit iam robore pallor
attonitos; non vulgatis sacrata figuris
numina sic metuunt: tantum terroribus addit,
quos timeant, non nosse, deos. iam fama ferebat
saepe cavas motu terrae mugire cavernas,
et procumbentis iterum consurgere taxos,
et non ardentis fulgere incendia silvae,
roboraque amplexos circum fluxisse dracones.
non illum cultu populi propiore frequentant
sed cessere deis. medio cum Phoebus in axe est
aut caelum nox atra tenet, pavet ipse sacerdos
accessus dominumque timet deprendere luci.
hanc iubet immisso silvam procumbere ferro;
nam vicina operi belloque intacta priore
inter nudatos stabat densissima montis.
sed fortes tremuere manus, motique verenda
maiestate loci, si robora sacra ferirent,
in sua credebant redituras membra securis.
implicitas magno Caesar torpore cohortes
ut vidit, primus raptam librare bipennem
ausus et aeriam ferro proscindere quercum
effatur merso violata in robora ferro:
'iam ne quis vestrum dubitet subvertere silvam,
credite me fecisse nefas.' tum paruit omnis

imperiis non sublato secura pavore
turba, sed expensa superorum et Caesaris ira.
procumbunt orni, nodosa impellitur ilex,
silvaque Dodones et fluctibus aptior alnus
et non plebeios luctus testata cupressus
tum primum posuere comas et fronde carentes
admisere diem, propulsaque robore denso
sustinuit se silva cadens. gemuere videntes
Gallorum populi, muris sed clausa iuventus
exultat; quis enim laesos impune putaret
esse deos? servat multos fortuna nocentes
et tantum miseris irasci numina possunt.
utque satis caesi nemoris, quaesita per agros
plaustra ferunt, curvoque soli cessantis aratro
agricolae raptis annum flevere iuvencis.
Dux tamen impatiens haesuri ad moenia Martis
versus ad Hispanas acies extremaque mundi
iussit bella geri. stellatis axibus agger
erigitur geminasque aequantis moenia turris
accipit; hae nullo fixerunt robore terram
sed per iter longum causa repsere latenti.
cum tantum nutaret onus, telluris inanes
concussisse sinus quaerentem erumpere ventum
credidit et muros mirata est stare iuventus.
illinc tela cadunt excelsas urbis in arces.
sed maior Graio Romana in corpora ferro
vis inerat. neque enim solis excussa lacertis
lancea, sed tenso ballistae turbine rapta,
haud unum contenta latus transire quiescit,
sed pandens perque arma viam perque ossa relicta
morte fugit: superest telo post vulnera cursus.
at saxum quotiens ingenti verberis actu
excutitur, qualis rupes, quam vertice montis
abscidit impulsu ventorum adiuta vetustas,
frangit cuncta ruens, nec tantum corpora pressa
exanimat, totos cum sanguine dissipat artus.
ut tamen hostiles densa testudine muros
tecta subit virtus, armisque innexa priores
arma ferunt, galeamque extensus protegit umbo,
quae prius ex longo nocuerunt missa recessu
iam post terga cadunt. nec Grais flectere iactum
aut facilis labor est longinqua ad tela parati
tormenti mutare modum; sed pondere solo
contenti nudis evolvunt saxa lacertis.

dum fuit armorum series, ut grandine tecta
innocua percussa sonant, sic omnia tela
respuit; at postquam virtus incerta virorum
perpetuam rupit defesso milite cratem,
singula continuis cesserunt ictibus arma.
tunc adoperta levi procedit vinea terra,
sub cuius pluteis et tecta fronte latentes
moliri nunc ima parant et vertere ferro
moenia; nunc aries suspenso fortior ictu
incussus densi compagem solvere muri
temptat et impositis unum subducere saxis.
sed super et flammis et magnae fragmine molis
et sudibus crebris et adusti roboris ictu
percussae cedunt crates, frustraque labore
exhausto fessus repetit tentoria miles.
summa fuit Grais, starent ut moenia, voti:
ultro acies inferre parant armisque coruscas
nocturni texere faces, audaxque iuventus
erupit. non hasta viris, non letifer arcus,
telum flamma fuit, rapiensque incendia ventus
per Romana tulit celeri munimina cursu.
nec, quamvis viridi luctetur robore, lentas
ignis agit vires, taeda sed raptus ab omni
consequitur nigri spatiosa volumina fumi,
nec solum silvas sed saxa ingentia solvit,
et crudae putri fluxerunt pulvere cautes.
procubuit maiorque iacens apparuit agger.
    Spes victis telluris abit, placuitque profundo
fortunam temptare maris. non robore picto
ornatas decuit fulgens tutela carinas,
sed rudis et qualis procumbit montibus arbor
conseritur, stabilis navalibus area bellis.
et iam turrigeram Bruti comitata carinam
venerat in fluctus Rhodani cum gurgite classis
Stoechados arva tenens. nec non et Graia iuventus
omne suum fatis voluit committere robur
grandaevosque senes mixtis armavit ephebis.
accepit non sola viros, quae stabat in undis,
classis: et emeritas repetunt navalibus alnos.
ut matutinos spargens super aequora Phoebus
fregit aquis radios et liber nubibus aether
et posito Borea pacemque tenentibus Austris
servatum bello iacuit mare, movit ab omni
quisque suam statione ratem, paribusque lacertis

Caesaris hinc puppes, hinc Graio remige classis
tollitur: impulsae tonsis tremuere carinae
crebraque sublimes convellunt verbera puppes.
cornua Romanae classis validaeque triremes
quasque quater surgens extructi remigis ordo
commovet et plures quae mergunt aequore pinus
multiplices cinxere rates. hoc robur aperto
oppositum pelago: lunata classe recedunt
ordine contentae gemino crevisse Liburnae.
celsior at cunctis Bruti praetoria puppis
verberibus senis agitur molemque profundo
invehit et summis longe petit aequora remis.
Ut tantum medii fuerat maris, utraque classis
quod semel excussis posset transcurrere tonsis,
innumerae vasto miscentur in aethere voces,
remorumque sonus premitur clamore, nec ullae
audiri potuere tubae. tum caerula verrunt
atque in transtra cadunt et remis pectora pulsant.
ut primum rostris crepuerunt obvia rostra,
in puppem rediere rates, emissaque tela
aera texerunt vacuumque cadentia pontum.
et iam diductis extendunt cornua proris
diversaeque rates laxata classe receptae.
ut, quotiens aestus Zephyris Eurisque repugnat,
huc abeunt fluctus, illo mare, sic, ubi puppes
sulcato varios duxerunt gurgite tractus,
quod tulit illa ratis remis, haec rettulit aequor.
sed Grais habiles pugnamque lacessere pinus
et temptare fugam nec longo frangere gyro
cursum nec tarde flectenti cedere clavo;
at Romana ratis stabilem praebere carinam
certior et terrae similem bellantibus usum.
tunc in signifera residenti puppe magistro
Brutus ait: 'Paterisne acies errare profundo
artibus et certas pelagi? iam consere bellum,
Phocaicis medias rostris oppone carinas.'
paruit, obliquas et praebuit hostibus alnos.
tum quaecumque ratis temptavit robora Bruti
ictu victa suo percussae capta cohaesit;
ast alias manicaeque ligant teretesque catenae,
seque tenent remis: tecto stetit aequore bellum.
Iam non excussis torquentur tela lacertis
nec longinqua cadunt iaculato vulnera ferro,
miscenturque manus. navali plurima bello

ensis agit. stat quisque suae de robore puppis
pronus in adversos ictus, nullique perempti
in ratibus cecidere suis. cruor altus in unda
spumat, et obducti concreto sanguine fluctus.
et, quas immissi traxerunt vincula ferri,
has prohibent iungi conferta cadavera puppis.
semianimes alii vastum subiere profundum
hauseruntque suo permixtum sanguine pontum;
hi luctantem animam lenta cum morte trahentes
fractarum subita ratium periere ruina.
irrita tela suas peragunt in gurgite caedes,
et quodcumque cadit frustrato pondere ferrum
exceptum mediis invenit vulnus in undis.
Phocaicis Romana ratis vallata carinis
robore diducto dextrum laevumque tuetur
aequo Marte latus; cuius dum pugnat ab alta
puppe Catus Graiumque audax aplustre retentat,
terga simul pariter missis et pectora telis
transigitur; medio concurrit corpore ferrum,
et stetit incertus, flueret quo vulnere, sanguis,
donec utrasque simul largus cruor expulit hastas
divisitque animam sparsitque in vulnera letum.
derigit huc puppem miseri quoque dextra Telonis,
qua nullam melius pelago turbante carinae
audivere manum, nec lux est notior ulli
crastina, seu Phoebum videat seu cornua lunae,
semper venturis componere carbasa ventis.
hic Latiae rostro compagem ruperat alni,
pila sed in medium venere trementia pectus
avertitque ratem morientis dextra magistri.
dum cupit in sociam Gyareus erepere puppem,
excipit immissum suspensa per ilia ferrum
affixusque rati telo retinente pependit.
Stant gemini fratres, fecundae gloria matris,
quos eadem variis genuerunt viscera fatis:
discrevit mors saeva viros, unumque relictum
agnorunt miseri sublato errore parentes,
aeternis causam lacrimis; tenet ille dolorem
semper et amissum fratrem lugentibus offert.
quorum alter mixtis obliquo pectine remis
ausus Romanae Graia de puppe carinae
iniectare manum; sed eam gravis insuper ictus
amputat; illa tamen nisu, quo prenderat, haesit
deriguitque tenens strictis immortua nervis.

crevit in adversis virtus: plus nobilis irae
truncus habet fortique instaurat proelia laeva
rapturusque suam procumbit in aequora dextram.
haec quoque cum toto manus est abscisa lacerto.
iam clipeo telisque carens, non conditus ima
puppe sed expositus fraternaque pectore nudo
arma tegens, crebra confixus cuspide perstat
telaque multorum leto casura suorum
emerita iam morte tenet. tum vulnere multo
effugientem animam lassos collegit in artus
membraque contendit toto, quicumque manebat,
sanguine et hostilem defectis robore nervis
insiluit solo nociturus pondere puppem.
strage virum cumulata ratis multoque cruore
plena per obliquum crebros latus accipit ictus
et, postquam ruptis pelagus compagibus hausit,
ad summos repleta foros descendit in undas
vicinum involvens contorto vertice pontum.
aequora discedunt mersa diducta carina
inque locum puppis cecidit mare. multaque ponto
praebuit ille dies varii miracula fati.
Ferrea dum puppi rapidos manus inserit uncos,
affixit Lycidan. mersus foret ille profundo,
sed prohibent socii suspensaque crura retentant.
scinditur avulsus, nec, sicut vulnere, sanguis
emicuit; lentus ruptis cadit undique venis,
discursusque animae diversa in membra meantis
interceptus aquis. nullius vita perempti
est tanta dimissa via. pars ultima trunci
tradidit in letum vacuos vitalibus artus;
at tumidus qua pulmo iacet, qua viscera fervent,
haeserunt ibi fata diu, luctataque multum
hac cum parte viri vix omnia membra tulerunt.
Dum nimium pugnax unius turba carinae
incumbit prono lateri vacuamque relinquit,
qua caret hoste, ratem, congesto pondere puppis
versa cava texit pelagus nautasque carina,
bracchia nec licuit vasto iactare profundo
sed clauso periere mari. tunc unica diri
conspecta est leti facies, cum forte natantem
diversae rostris iuvenem fixere carinae.
discessit medium tam vastos pectus ad ictus,
nec prohibere valent obtritis ossibus artus
quo minus aera sonent; eliso ventre per ora

eiectat saniem permixtus viscere sanguis.
postquam inhibent remis puppes ac rostra reducunt,
deiectum in pelagus perfosso pectore corpus
vulneribus transmisit aquas. pars maxima turbae
naufraga iactatis morti obluctata lacertis
puppis ad auxilium sociae concurrit; at illis,
robora cum vetitis prensarent altius ulnis
nutaretque ratis populo peritura recepto,
impia turba super medios ferit ense lacertos.
bracchia linquentes Graia pendentia puppe
a manibus cecidere suis: non amplius undae
sustinuere graves in summo gurgite truncos.
Iamque omni fusis nudato milite telis
invenit arma furor: remum contorsit in hostem
alter, at hi totum validis aplustre lacertis
avulsasque rotant excusso remige sedes.
in pugnam fregere rates. sidentia pessum
corpora caesa tenent spoliantque cadavera ferro.
multi inopes teli iaculum letale revulsum
vulneribus traxere suis et viscera laeva
oppressere manu, validos dum praebeat ictus
sanguis et, hostilem cum torserit, exeat, hastam.
Nulla tamen plures hoc edidit aequore clades
quam pelago diversa lues. nam pinguibus ignis
affixus taedis et tecto sulpure vivax
spargitur; at faciles praebere alimenta carinae
nunc pice, nunc liquida rapuere incendia cera.
nec flammas superant undae, sparsisque per aequor
iam ratibus fragmenta ferus sibi vindicat ignis.
hic recipit fluctus, extinguat ut aequore flammas,
hi, ne mergantur, tabulis ardentibus haerent.
mille modos inter leti mors una timori est
qua coepere mori. nec cessat naufraga virtus:
tela legunt deiecta mari ratibusque ministrant
incertasque manus ictu languente per undas
exercent; nunc, rara datur si copia ferri,
utuntur pelago: saevus complectitur hostem
hostis, et implicitis gaudent subsidere membris
mergentesque mori.
Pugna fuit unus in illa
eximius Phoceus animam servare sub undis
scrutarique fretum, si quid mersisset harenis,
et nimis affixos unci convellere morsus,
adductum quotiens non senserat anchora funem.

hic, ubi comprensum penitus deduxerat hostem,
victor et incolumis summas remeabat in undas;
sed, se per vacuos credit dum surgere fluctus,
puppibus occurrit tandemque sub aequore mansit.
hi super hostiles iecerunt bracchia remos
et ratium tenuere fugam. non perdere letum
maxima cura fuit: multus sua vulnera puppi
affixit moriens et rostris abstulit ictus.
Stantem sublimi Tyrrhenum culmine prorae
Lygdamus excussa Balearis tortor habenae
glande petens solido fregit cava tempora plumbo.
sedibus expulsi, postquam cruor omnia rupit
vincula, procurrunt oculi; stat lumine rapto
attonitus mortisque illas putat esse tenebras.
at postquam membris sensit constare vigorem
'vos', ait 'o socii, sicut tormenta soletis,
me quoque mittendis rectum componite telis.
egere quod superest animae, Tyrrhene, per omnis
bellorum casus. ingentem militis usum
hoc habet ex magna defunctum parte cadaver:
viventis feriere loco.' sic fatus in hostem
caeca tela manu sed non tamen irrita mittit.
excipit haec iuvenis generosi sanguinis Argus,
qua iam non medius descendit in ilia venter,
adiuvitque suo procumbens pondere ferrum.
stabat diversa victae iam parte carinae
infelix Argi genitor, non ille iuventae
tempore Phocaicis ulli cessurus in armis:
victum aevo robur cecidit, fessusque senecta
exemplum, non miles erat; qui funere viso
saepe cadens longae senior per transtra carinae
pervenit ad puppim spirantisque invenit artus.
non lacrimae cecidere genis, non pectora tundit,
distentis toto riguit sed corpore palmis.
nox subit atque oculos vastae obduxere tenebrae,
et miserum cernens agnoscere desinit Argum.
ille caput labens et iam languentia colla
viso patre levat; vox faucis nulla solutas
prosequitur, tacito tantum petit oscula vultu
invitatque patris claudenda ad lumina dextram.
ut torpore senex caruit viresque cruentus
coepit habere dolor, 'non perdam tempora' dixit
'a saevis permissa deis, iugulumque senilem
confodiam. veniam misero concede parenti,

Arge, quod amplexus, extrema quod oscula fugi.
nondum destituit calidus tua volnera sanguis,
semianimisque iaces et adhuc potes esse superstes.'
sic fatus, quamvis capulum per viscera missi
polluerit gladii, tamen alta sub aequora tendit
praecipiti saltu: letum praecedere nati
festinantem animam morti non credidit uni.
Inclinant iam fata ducum, nec iam amplius anceps
belli casus erat. Graiae pars maxima classis
mergitur, ast aliae mutato remige puppes
victores vexere suos; navalia paucae
praecipiti tenuere fuga. quis in urbe parentum
fletus erat, quanti matrum per litora planctus!
coniunx saepe sui confusis vultibus unda
credidit ora viri Romanum amplexa cadaver,
accensisque rogis miseri de corpore trunco
certavere patres. at Brutus in aequore victor
primus Caesareis pelagi decus addidit armis.

NOTE ON THE TEXT

The text printed here is based on the recent critical edition by SHACKLETON BAILEY, which is basically a revised version of the text of HOUSMAN. Only in a relatively small number of places, indicated below, does my text depart from SHACKLETON BAILEY's. All of these places will be fully discussed in the commentary.

11 accenso
21 Fortuna
26 nullum
112 exit in
122 tribunus:
132 exhaustae
143 tum
149 nil iam
249 Orestas
279 negant
286 Perses
328 rerum
340 exustae
348 attingere
373 tunc
416 metuunt
417 timeant
435 ferro
459 inanes
475 innexa
752 iam.

COMMENTARY

1-45 Pompey flees from Brundisium. Julia appears to him in a dream, but he rejects the omen.

(1) Summary:

While his ship recedes from the coast, Pompey looks back to Italy. Then he falls asleep. In his dream Julia appears to him, and predicts his death and doom, revengefully ascribing this to his breaking up his marriage with her and marrying Cornelia instead. In philosophical words Pompey denies the validity of the omen. In the early evening his ship reaches the other side of the Adriatic.

(2) Structure:

In book two Pompey obtained the support of Cato, but had to retreat into southern Italy, while Caesar conquered the North. Further setbacks made Pompey decide to concentrate his forces in Brundisium and to await military reinforcements there. Caesar in his turn barricaded the harbour. In the section immediately preceding book three (2,719-36) Pompey managed to escape at daybreak.

Here, in the first lines of book three, we find Pompey at sea, sailing away from the Italian shore. In the composition of BC this section has two major functions. First, it refers to book two. The military action near Brundisium, 2,610ff, has its epilogue in 2,719-36 and 3,1-45, both of which rouse pity for Pompey. In 3,1ff there is no change of persons or place: Pompey at sea still is the focus. The image of this former great leader leaving Italy as a manifestly ill-fated and doomed man, evoked in 2,719-36, is confirmed in 3,9-45. His close relation with Rome and Italy (2,734-6; 3,1ff) is a third connecting element. Cf. MENZ 1952,84-88; SYNDIKUS 1958,108; AHL 1976,79; HÜBNER 1984,228; LOSSAU 1987,133-4.

On the other hand, the scene also anticipates future events, especially Pompey's fall, the background of 3,169-297. According to MITCHELL 1973,49 even the rise of Caesar is implied here, but this seems exaggerated. As a whole, 3,1-45 forms the bridge between books two and three; cf. RUTZ 1950,15-16. In RUTZ' view the first four books form a tetrad, with 1-2 and 3-4 as inner units, bearing close correspondences in structure and themes. To Lucan the 'book' is no longer a fixed unit. This explains why the border between two books can be effaced, as has been done here.

1-45 consist of three sections: (i) Pompey at sea (1-9); (ii) the appearance of Julia (9-35); (iii) Pompey's reaction and the end of the sea passage (36-46). Thematically, (i) and (iii) are connected, into which (ii) is embedded: it is the central part, both structurally and thematically. The narrative is not brought significantly further, but the section is, in SYNDIKUS' words, an 'epische Szene', which serves to portray the essential elements in a character; cf. SYNDIKUS 1958,30-36)[1]. Here we see Pompey sailing away from a glorious past, to which he symbolically glances back, and on the verge of doom. The scene rouses pity for his fate, and the fate of Rome.

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[1]. Other 'epic scenes' e.g. 1,183-212 (Caesar); 2,234-391 (Cato); 3,112-168 (Caesar); 399-452 (Caesar); 8,159-201 (Pompeius).

(3) Historical material:
Whereas Pompey's departure from Brundisium is firmly attested to by other sources (see below), the appearance of Julia seems to have been inserted by Lucan. See note on 9-35.
(4) Literary material:
The departure, the dream, and Pompey's reaction bear the marks of several literary traditions. See notes on 1-9, 9-35 and 36-45.

According to RUTZ a comparison with the first major Caesar scene (1,183-212), shows Lucan's search for antithesis: Caesar's reaction to the appearance of Roma is to plunge headlong into attack, whereas Pompey reacts by fleeing. This parallel is adduced to support his theory on the inner structure of the tetrad 1-4. But RUTZ is not exact: Pompey's plan to escape had already been formed before the dream, as had Caesar's plan to attack. Both are *confirmed* in their intention by a discouraging and adverse vision, which they both overcome, as EHLERS,520 says. To some extent Pompey is equated to Caesar: he runs headlong into what turns out to be ruin for Rome. Therefore, Pompey also shares in Caesar's guilt.

The scene of Pompey's crossing the sea has a parallel in 5,424-60 where Caesar crosses the same sea from Brundisium, almost a year later, in the beginning of 48 B.C.. There variation is achieved by focussing on the sea voyage itself, whereas here Pompey remains central. Sea passages in BC (most of which are discussed by SCHÖNBERGER 1968,92-113) usually take place with remarkable speed, e.g. 9,36-50; 1000-5.

Some scholars subscribe to the view that Caesar is associated with land, fire, sun and daylight throughout BC, whereas Pompey is linked with water and dark; e.g. KÖNIG 1957; SCHÖNBERGER 1958. If we follow this symbolistical line, this section may provide a clear illustration: Pompey escapes before daybreak and reaches safety at sea, where he falls asleep. Ironically, the dangerous land from which he flees is Italy, and he will have to seek help in eastern lands. However, this alleged symbolism of natural elements remains somewhat speculative and it has not been generally accepted. In a more acceptable form ROSNER-SIEGEL 1983 shows how Lucan consistently uses the images of Caesar as a striking force, an active 'mover', and Pompey as inert and stationary, a character which is 'moved'. See below on 1-9 and on 434.

1-9 Pompey flees from Brundisium.

(1) Summary:
As his fleet sails towards the high sea, all men look forward to the Ionian sea, but Pompey cannot take his eyes from the Italian land, which gradually fades in the distance. Then he falls asleep.
(2) Structure:
This first part of the scene 1-45 opens with a static, highly visual image of Pompey and his crew on the ship. In carefully constructed lines Lucan indicates Pompey's melancholic mood and his loneliness. The section abruptly ends in sleep.

LOSSAU 1987 proposes to regard the first letters of 3,1-8 and the 11th letter of 9 as an acrostichon *PIOS MANI(.S)* introducing the next section. There Julia's image speaks 'ganz im Sinne der pietas' (p.134) and the word *manes* occurs as key word (13, 32, 36) However, Julia is not *pia* but, in Lucan's own words *dira* and *funalis*. LOSSAU's other arguments remain equally unconvincing. There is no reason to assume acrostichs in texts as early as the 1st.cent.A.D.[1]. It seems best to consider the acrostichon as no more than a coincidence.

(3) Historical material·

Pompey left Brundisium and crossed the Adriatic to Dyrrachium on March 17th. of the year 49 B.C.; cf. SEAGER 1979,175-6; further RAMBAUD 1976,850, LEACH 1978,184-5, GREENHALGH 1981,159-64[2]. On March 4th the greatest part of his troops had already departed.

Lucan presents his own selection of historiographical material on the causes leading up to this departure. He has left out or changed several details. Livy described the events in book 109, but the Periocha gives no further clue: *Cn. Pompeium ceterosque partium eius Italia expulit*. Several later historiographers have only general remarks on the events in Brundisium: Eutrop. 6,19,3, Flor. Epit.2,13,21-22, Plu Caes.35,1-2; Suet. Jul 34.

Caes. Civ.1,25-30 and other sources differ from Lucan in several elements: (i) Caesar justifies his blocking the harbour and underlines his willingness to negotiate (Caes. Civ.1,26; Vell. 2,50,1-2, D C 41,12,2). (ii) Pompey's motifs to escape appear in a different light *Pompeius sive operibus Caesaris permotus sive etiam quod ab initio Italia excedere constituerat, adventu navium profectionem parare incipit*.. (Caes. Civ.1,27, cf. Cic. Att 8,11,2, 9,6,7, 9,7,4, 9,9,2, 9,10,2.) But Plu Pomp 43,1 mentions positive reactions to his decision as well[3]. (iii) Pompey takes military measures in the city of Brundisium in order to secure his flight (Caes. Civ.1,27, Fron. Str.1,5,5; Plu. Pomp.42,3, App. BC 2,6,40, D C. 41,12,3). (iv) The inhabitants of Brundisium all favour Caesar (Caes. Civ.1,28) (v) Pompeius leaves at night: *Pompeius sub noctem naves solvit* (Caes. Civ 1,28, App. BC 2,6,40; D C. 41,12,3). (vi) Two of Pompey's ships however do not manage to pass the obstruction in the harbour and are captured (Caes. Civ 1,28, Plu. Pomp.42,4).

Lucan eliminates all which may seem positive in Caesar's behaviour, or negative in Pompey's. Anything that might indicate a military strategy on the part of Pompey, or which would divert attention from his departure as such is discarded. Thus he presents Pompey's departure as a flight, entirely due to Caesar's brutal behaviour,

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[1] On acrostichs in ancient literature, cf COURTNEY 1990

[2] Cicero mentions Pompey's departure from Brundisium twice with a wrong date Att 9,6,3, 9,14,3 But in 9,15A Matius and Trebonius write to Cicero *Cum Capua exissemus, in itinere audivimus Pompeium Brundisio a d. XVI Kal Apr cum omnibus copus quas habuerit profectum esse*, and Shackleton Bailey a l confirms that March 17th is the right date

[3] In BC 6,327 Pompey's flight is motivated by the desire to spare Rome from the war *ne premerent te proelia, fugi*)

but does not explicitly blame him for this. For the hour of day at which he leaves, see on 8 and 27. The detail of Pompey's looking back to Italy is clearly a literary motif; see below.

(4) Literary material:

Several aspects of Pompey's portrayal here comply with a literary tradition. In general, departures from harbours occur frequently in the *Aeneid*. In Aen.3 no less than 9 of them occur: 1ff; 72ff; 124ff; 190ff; 266ff; 289ff; 506ff; 548ff; 666ff. Pompey's image here seems particularly influenced by Aeneas sailing from his native Troy (Aen.2,801ff; 3,8ff) and from Carthage (Aen.5,1ff taking up 4,661ff)[1]. In both passages in the *Aeneid* a clear boundary between the books is effaced, just as here in BC. In A.5,3 Aeneas looks back to the shore: *moenia respiciens*, a motif which remains implicit in the other scene. But unlike Aeneas, Pompey has no promising future in a new fatherland, but is leaving his past without any hopeful prospect. His melancholically looking back to the coast here has been considered a typical mark of an *exul*: cf. 2,730 *populis comitantibus exul*; 8,209; MENZ 1952,84[2]; RUTZ 1968,12; RUTZ 1970b,253-4; NARDUCCI 1979,122n52.

HÜBNER 1984 has pointed to elegiac influence in this section. Sentimental departure scenes are not uncommon in Roman elegy: cf. Ov. Fast.3,566; Met.11,461-73 (the story of Ceyx and Alcyone; considered as model for Lucan by BRUERE 1951b, esp. 222-5, and SALEMME 1976,307); Ep.6,68; Tib. 1,3,14; 2,5,21-2. Cf. also Verg. G.3,228; Sen. Med.301-4. For elegiac motifs in a scene in BC 2, see HARICH 1990.

In addition to epic and elegiac models, Lucan may well echo Hannibal's departure from Italy as described by Livy 30,20,7: *raro quemquam alium, patriam exilii causa relinquentem, tam maestum abisse ferunt quam Hannibalem, hostium terra excedentem. respexisse saepe Italiae litora....*

Pompey is not only pitiful, but also heroic: he does not complain or lament, and he is sharply contrasted with his men (see on 3) when looking back, again unlike Aeneas. With RUTZ 1968,12 we may also call Pompey's solitude 'tragic'.

Starting with the famous comparison in BC 1,136-43 in which Pompey is compared to an old oak tree, a series of images can be traced throughout BC which consistently characterize him as immobile, passive, lonely and vulnerable. Thus, as ROSNER-SIEGEL 1983,171 has shown, the image of immobility is brought out here in the land appearing to recede, whereas Pompey is actually departing. Though he is on the move, he stands immobile and unchanging, driven by the wind, and standing alone amidst others, like the oak tree stands alone in the middle of the forest. Cf. further NEWMYER 1983,242-3; NARDUCCI 1985,1553-6; and cf. below on 434.

All of these literary elements are fused into a complex image of Pompey in which pathos is the dominant factor.

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1. The details on weather conditions are typical of departure scenes: cf. the sunrise in BC 2,719-25, which is taken up here.

2. MENZ refers to Favorinus, *Peri phugès*, c.8. This philosopher lived from 80 to 150 A.D..

(5) Imitations:
Lucan's Pompey (as well as his Caesar) has become a model for Silius' Hannibal in 17,213ff; cf. MEYER 1924,78; VINCHESI 1976,57; BROUWERS 1982b, 83. Petrarca has imitated the section here in Africa 6,220-2; cf. BRUERE 1961,93.

1 **propulit**: the verb is regularly used for moving a ship by rowing: Prop. 3,21,11; V.Fl. 1,494; Sil. 14,624, but here the wind is the moving force, as 5,430 *propellere lintea ventus*; Ov. Ep.21,44; Sil. 15,163; Gel. 2,22,24.

classem: Pompey's ships. Lucan does not mention the capture of two of them by Caesar (Caes. 1,28; Plu.Pomp.42,4). BC 3 abounds in nautical details, especially in 509-762.

velis cedentibus: the sails seem to 'give way before the wind'. The ship is not only driven by the wind, but Lucan attributes a movement to the sails as well. Roman sails had a square form, and were usually made from linen. Cf. SAINT-DENIS 1935,137; CASSON 1971,233-5; ROUGÉ 1981,47-55; REDDÉ 1986,59-65.

Auster: on this wind and its various aspects cf. ZURLI 1984,esp.109. In the indices of LUCK 1985 and SHACKLETON BAILEY a full list is provided of all places in BC where this wind is named. There seems to be a contradiction with 2,646; 5,417; and 5,705 where the Adriatic is crossed by means of the *Boreas* or *Aquilo*. Scholars have offered various solutions to this problem. The Comm.Bern. simply explain *Auster* as *pro aquilone* and Arnulf has a similar remark. But Dyrrachium (modern Durrës in Albania) lies north east of Brundisium. Therefore *Boreas* in the other texts must be explained, not *Auster* here. Early modern commentators resort to conjectures but even FRANCKEN rejects these. PICHON 1912,120-3 and SAINT-DENIS 1935,426-7 seek to explain what they consider a geographical error on the part of Lucan[1].

EHLERS, in his remark on 1-45, shows more awareness of what a poet may do with geographical detail. *Auster* is the normal wind on the Adriatic, and Lucan probably uses *Boreas* in BC 2 and 5 to suggest 'adverse wind' and 'peril'. Here Pompey is lucky at least in this detail. Winds may serve poetical rather than geographical aims in other poets too: cf. Williams on Verg. A.5,2; Norden on Verg. A.6,336 (*Auster* instead of *Aquilo*); Sil. 6,528.

2 **incumbens**: with 'wind' as subject in Verg. A.1,84-6 *incubuere mari totumque a sedibus imis / una Eurusque Notusque ruunt creberque procellis / Africus...*; V.Fl. 2,59-60.

medium...profundum: the correspondence of an adjective in the second foot with a noun in the sixth or vice versa, is one of Lucan's favourite metrical devices: cf. BLATT 1959,64-66. About a fourth of his verses show this pattern; in BC 3 187 verses out of 762 do so (cf. 2; 3; 4; 7; 8 etc.). Still very rare in Ennius (1 in 60) and Lucretius (1 in 30), the pattern becomes more frequent starting with Catullus (1 in

1. PICHON,271 even tries to deduce a clue as to the composition of BC from such explanations of 'errors': thus he thinks books 2,7, and 8 were composed as first three books, because Lucan 'corrected' his own error in the present text.

5): Vergil has 1 in 10 in Aen.1-2 and 1 in 5 in Georg.; Ovid 1 in 7; Tibullus in some poems 1 in 3. Thus this mechanical principle, which brings about part of the monotony of the Lucanean hexameter, seems to be due to a renewal of the hexameter by the Latin Neoteric poets, foreshadowing the later rhymed hexameter.

movere: the reading with the best MSS authority, printed in most modern editions. However, some editors (e.g. FRANCKEN and, in recent years, LUCK) have read *tenuere*, following younger MSS. On the perfect form in *-ere* cf. HAGENDAHL 1923. For *movere* with 'the sea' as object (here not to be interpreted as 'the sea in rowing', as OLD s.v. says, as Pompey's ships are clearly using their sails here) cf. Verg. G.1,130; A.1,135; V.Fl. 5,44-45.

profundum: a normal poeticism for 'sea'. In BC 3 it occurs no less than 8 times in final position in the verse. In all 22 cases in BC the word stands in this position. OLLFORS 1967 calls such words with a preferred or fixed position in the verse 'Standwörter', and provides a full list of the most important cases (62-69).

3 **omnis - fluctus**: the idea is echoed in Sil. 17,211 *omnis in altum / Sidonius visus converterat undique miles; / ductor defixus Itala tellure tenebat / intentus vultus.*

navita: Lucan uses both the archaic word *navita* (also 1,502; 5,427; 7,125; 861) and its contracted form *nauta* (2,690; 697; 3,650 a.o.). The non-contracted form was metrically convenient: cf. Lucr. 5,223; Catul. 64,174; Rut.Nam. 1,225. It is not a technical word; for the various function names of seamen see CASSON 1971,310-314.

4 **solus**: Pompey is sharply contrasted here with his men, who all look forward to the future. He stands all alone, although he is surrounded by other people; cf. 5,67 where Appius stands apart from the others. In 8,159ff there is a similar image of Pompey crossing the sea. There he is different from the others by staying awake and conversing with the helmsman on astronomy[1]. He is lonely in his past glory. Caesar's loneliness (cf. 3,47 *solus*) is of a different nature, as it results from superhuman greatness and audacity.

Generally speaking, characters in BC are not psychologically consistent, but remain 'flat characters' exemplifying affects. Here Pompey is dominated by *dolor*; cf. VÖGLER 1968,259-264. For the complex Lucanean Pompey cf. esp. SYNDIKUS 1958,101-4; SCHÖNBERGER 1968,113ff; RUTZ 1968; HOLLIDAY 1969; AHL 1976,150-89; ROSNER-SIEGEL 1983; NARDUCCI 1985,1553-6; COLISH 1985,267-70; FEENEY 1986; JOHNSON 1987,67-100 (who considers him not a serious character, but a parody). As a whole Lucan's Pompey is as difficult to judge as the historic Pompey was for his contemporaries.

In a brilliant article SCHRÖTER 1975 has shown that Pompey has at least four poetical functions, perhaps not fully integrated by Lucan: he is (i) Caesar's rival in striving after power; (ii) the leader of the republican oligarchy and defender of freedom; (iii) a tragic figure, viewed with sympathy in his defeat and death; (iv) a

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1. In BC 5 Caesar converses with his helmsman too, but significantly, he is the one who talks. It may be relevant to note a further parallel between the two crossings of Pompey: after the voyage in BC 8 he sends Deiotarus to look for help in the East (8,209ff), which is also one of the main subjects of BC 3 (169ff).

person associated with epic heroes, notably Hector and Aeneas. On the historical Pompey: VAN OOTEGHEM 1954; LEACH 1978; SEAGER 1979; GREENHALGH 1980 and 1981. For the idea of a development in Pompey's character, see on 37.

Hesperia: 'the evening land', used in poetry for Italy since Enn. Ann.20 Sk. *est locus Hesperiam quam mortales perhibebant*. Cf. Verg. A.3,163; 6,6 (with Austin's note). Vergil has *Hesperia* 13 times and also uses *Ausonia* and *Oenotria*.Lucan uses *Hesperia* (cf. 3,66) 20 times, *Italia* 7 (only in bks.1-5, but not in 3) and *Ausonia* 4 (in bks.5-8). The adjective *Hesperius* may also refer to Spain: 1,555; 2,589; 3,359; 4,14; 9,654. For Lucan cf. also GREGORIUS 1893,53; and SHACKLETON BAILEY's index.

non flexit lumina: a variation of the normal verb *respicere* (Tib. 1,3,14; Verg. G.4,491; A.5,3; Ov. Fast.3,566; Am.2,11,23; Stat. Theb.7,144). Even this small detail shows Pompey as inert, static, and unable to change. There may also be an association of 'looking back' with 'bad omens': cf. Putnam on Tib. 1,3,13-14, who refers to Verg. Ecl.8,102; G.4,491; Gow on Theoc. 24,96; and Frazer on Ov. Fast.6,164: '...on setting out on a journey from home you should not turn back because the Furies are following behind you.(...) Failure to observe this golden rule inevitably leads to disappointment or even disaster.' For *flectere* here cf. Sil. 8,139: *in portus amens rorantia lumina flexit*.

terra: reinforces the contrast between Pompey and his men watching the *fluctus* (3). For the homoeoteleuton *Hesperia...terra* see on 8. For the verse ending *lumina terra* cf. esp. Ov. Met.13,541 *et adversa figit modo lumina terra* and see SCHUMANN 1983,s.v.[1].

5 **Magnus**: Lucan usually designates Pompey by this name: 193 times, as opposed 'Pompeius' 81 times (DICK 1967,238n22). According to Plu. Pomp 13,4-5 the name was given by Sulla in 80 B.C.. Livy 30,45,6 says it came into use *ab adsentatione familiari*. It remains uncertain when this surname became official. Lucan uses it not just to bring a tribute to Pompey, as NEHRKORN 1960,77 suggests, or for metrical convenience, but also often plays with the cognomen, as Van Amerongen on 5,14 and FEENEY 1986 show. Cf. 1,135 *stat magni nominis umbra*; 1,143-4 *sed non in Caesare tantum / nomen erat* (*tantum* meaning both 'so great' and 'only'); 2,708; 6,420; 7,717 *scilicet immenso superest ex nomine multum*; 8,19-21; 274-6; 230-1; 449-50 *quis nominis umbram / horreat*; 549-52. The 'nomen est omen' (for which cf. Pease on Cic. Div.1,102) is reversed here: Pompey's destiny is no longer embodied in his name [2].

Lucan is not the first to play with Pompey's name: Van Amerongen and

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1. The combination is often used of the light with which the earth is filled or flooded, cf. Lucr. 2,144 *spargit lumine terras*· Cic. Arat 473, Verg. A.9,459; Ov. Met.2,149; 15,786; and Christian and Medieval writers.

2. According to FEENEY, Pompey begins to perceive and achieve his true *fama* after Pharsalus, becoming in fact *magnus* beyond popular *fama*, with a climax in 9,215-7. Thus FEENEY returns to the old theory of 'Pompeius proficiens' prompted by MARTI 1945: see on 37. Cf. FEENEY,241.

FEENEY (239; 243n15) mention Cic. Att.2,19,3; Catul. 11,10 (*Caesaris visens monimenta magni*); Sen. Dial.6,14,3; Ben.4,30,2; Ep.94,64-5; Ov. Pont.4,3,41, but have overlooked Ov. Fast. 1,603-4 *Magne, tuum nomen rerum est mensura tuarum: / sed qui te vicit, nomine maior erat.*

dum...dum: several editors (e.g. DUFF and LUCK) take *dum* to mean 'until'. This usually requires a conjunctive, although an indicative is possible (cf. OLD s.v.5a). However, *cernit vanescere* can hardly be considered as one moment: it is a process of gradually seeing the land fading away. Therefore, a durative translation (cf. EHLERS 'solange er...entschwinden sah') seems to make better sense. Anaphora of *dum* is used by Lucan to show two aspects of the same event, or to modify in the second part what was said in the first part cf. 1,363-4; 2,338; 4,41-2; 7,42; 734; 8,682-3; 9,1095-6; 10,81. On the syllepsis of the verb see MAURACH 1983,60-61; LHS II 832.

portus...litora: HÜBNER 1984,229-230 speaks of a 'Diminuendo des Sehvermögens' and 'Crescendo des Objektes' (*portus, litora, cacumen, montis*). For the technique to present the 'optical problem' he refers to the elegiac poets, as Ov. Met.11,463; Ep.13,15-24; cf. also Sen. Ag.456-459.

Ov. Met.11,461-73 was referred to as the source of this image by BRUERE 1951, but most scholars consider it a deliberate contrast to Aeneas' joyful arrival in Italy, Verg. A.3,521-4, *iamque rubescebat stellis Aurora fugatis / cum procul obscuros collis humilemque videmus / Italiam. Italiam primus conclamat Achates, / Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant.* The difference with Lucan is striking: the Aeneads see their promised land for the first time and greet it happily, with good prospects for the future. In addition, as BRUERE 1951b,222 notes, the friendly low hills in the Vergilian image have become towering peaks in Lucan. His Italy is diametrically opposed to Vergil's (contrast the *Laudes Italiae*, Verg. G.2,136-76, with BC 2,392-438). Cf. also Hor. S.1,5,77-8 *incipit ex illo montis Apulia notos / ostentare mihi.* There may be further echo's here to Verg. A.3,10-1 *litora cum patriae lacrimans portusque relinquo / et campos ubi Troia fuit. feror exsul in altum*; 72 *provehimur portu terraeque urbesque relinquunt*; 496 *arva (...) Ausoniae semper cedentia retro*; Sen. Ag.456-7.

litora: another 'Standwort' in the terminology of OLLFORS 1967. In 93 out of 105 cases the word appears in the fifth foot, as here; cf. OLLFORS,65. The frequency of the word in BC also testifies to Lucan's particular interest in boarder lines and coasts.

5 **(numquam) reditura**: Arnulf adds: 'quod tamen ipse nesciebat', whereas the Comm.Bern. call this 'promanteusis'. The future participle here expresses in the object an intention or expectation on the part of the subject, often the poet himself, as in 170; 211; 221; 453. Cf. further 1,462; 2,499; 505; 542; 4,3; 43; 211; 5,280; etc.. Here, this brings about a shift of focalization (for the narratological term cf. DE JONG 1987,29-40; further e.g. PRINCE 1987,31-32). As a poet Lucan produces a

pathetic, almost sentimental tone here[1]. It is true that Pompey will not return to Italy, but events are dramatized here. Already in BC 1-4 the battle of Pharsalus casts its shadow, although not as dominantly as in BC 5-7. For the various uses of the future participle in Lucan cf. LUNDQVIST 1907,67-71; VIANSINO 1974,145-162; in Seneca: WESTMAN 1961. For anticipations of Pharsalus see on 15.

cacumen: the Apennines, considered as one continuous mass, covered by clouds (like Verg. A.3,274 *nimbosa cacumina*).

7 **nubibus**: to be taken with *tectum*: 'covered by clouds'. The enjambement suggests the increasing difficulty to discern anything on the coast. The indefiniteness is further brought out by *dubios...vanescere*.

dubios...montes: OUDENDORP comments: '*dubii montes* sunt obscuri, de quibus e longinquo dubites, an videas montes, necne'. Lucan has carefully worked up to the end of the image. After the harbour, the coastline, and the mountains covered by clouds, the last thing Pompey discerns is something indefinite which may be either clouds or mountains. Servius quotes this line in his note on A.3,522 *obscuros colles*. In Sen. Ag.457, mountains seen from a departing ship are similarly called *dubios*.

8 **inde...**: Pompey falls asleep. If we read 2,719-725 and 3,40-43 we can be sure it is the middle of the day (cf. CASPARI 1908,26; STEARNS 1927,61 and GRILLONE 1967,92;95n7 are wrong when they suggest this dream occurs during the night. See also on 27). Maybe Pompey got tired (*languida* 8), because his eyes became weary looking at the landscape (cf. Stat. Silv.1,1,87-8; 4,2,30-1; Rut.Nam. 1,190 *montes visu deficiente sequi*) but in fact no clear reason is given for this 'siesta'.

The grounds for Pompey's sleep are poetical: in departure scenes sleep or unconsciousness may serve to prolong the mounting grief of the departing persons. Thus, in Ov. Ep.13,15-24 Laodamia faints; in Met.11,471-473 Alcyone goes to bed, after Ceyx is gone. Secondly, the sleep rounds off the image of Pompey being safe at sea, after the dangers in BC 2. Perhaps most importantly, Lucan needs the sleep to give Pompey the dream he wants him to have. After the dream is over, Pompey's sleep is no longer paid any attention to.

soporifero...somno: homoeoteleuton of words at caesura and verse ending. Lucan is particularly fond of correspondences between words in the beginning and end of the verse (cf. on 2 *medium...profundum*). In numerous verses this is strengthened by the caesura, and further by homoeoteleuton. This pattern with *-o...-o* repeatedly closes a section or a part of it: cf. 11; 23; 45; 153; 171; 617; 711 (other cases: 203; 371; 463.).

Soporiferus is a poetical epithet, here of *somnus*; cf. Ov. Met.11,586 *soporiferam Somni...aulam*; V.Fl. 2,295; Stat. Theb.12,291; Sil. 7,287; further BC 5,689 *segnis... sopor*; Lucr. 4,453-4 *suavi devinxit membra sopore / somnus*[2]. There is no need to follow Bentley and write *Somnus*.

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1. NARDUCCI 1979,121 calls this 'empathy', and adds the lines are exceptionally 'soffusi di musicalità malinconica'.

2. Elsewhere it is said of papaver or drugs: Verg. A.4,486; Ov. Fast.4,531; Tr.4,1,47.

ANDERSON 1927 and CURRIE 1958 have raised doubts about *soporifero*. CURRIE proposes an emendation *(inde) sopore fero*, on the basis of Sil. 17,159 *et fera ductoris turbarunt somnia mentem*, which he supposes to be an echo of Lucan's text. His arguments have been convincingly refuted by VON ALBRECHT 1964, Anhang I (p.191), and all modern editions print the traditional text.

cesserunt...somno membra : cf. 5,511 *somno cedentia membra*. However, it seems exaggerated to treat this parallel as a 'leit-motiv', as SCHÖNBERGER 1968,104 does, V.Fl. 2,71 also has *cedere somno*. For *languida somno* cf. Ov. Ep.10,9; Stat. Theb.11,548-9; Tac. Ann.15,49.

9 **membra ducis**: for the combination cf. 1,193.

9-35 Julia appears to Pompey in his sleep, and portends his doom and death.

(1) Summary:

In his sleep Pompey has a vision of his former wife Julia, appearing to him like a Fury. She depicts the frightful situation in the underworld caused by the civil war. Then she threatens Pompey because he has married Cornelia too soon after her own death and so has broken the bonds with Caesar's family. She has obtained permission from the Gods of the underworld to haunt him everywhere. In this way she can claim her former husband for herself. After she has spoken, Pompey tries to embrace her, but the ghost slips away.

(2) Structure:

After the description of Pompey, fled from Italy and fallen asleep (1-9), the poet presents a traditional epic motif, a dream. The events have come to a complete standstill here. Nearly the entire scene is made up by Julia's speech, which is roughly divided into two parts: a general prophecy (14-19) and a personal prophecy (20-34). Cf. on 12.

(3) Historical material:

This dream does not occur in other sources, unlike Pompey's flight from Brundisium, and unlike his dream on the eve of the battle of Pharsalus (7,1-44; cf. Plu. Pomp.68,2; Flor. Epit.2,13,45 a.o.). PICHON 1912,160 suggests Pompey may actually have had such a dream, but Lucan has evidently inserted it on literary grounds. Cf. MENZ 1952,87-8; RUTZ 1963,517; LINTOTT 1971,489n4; VIANSINO 1974,126n72.

(4) Literary material:

Dreams are a standard motif in epic since Homer (Il.2,1-34); cf. STEARNS 1927; WETZEL 1931; GRILLONE 1967; BROUWERS 1985. Lucan rebels against this venerable epic device: first, he has comparatively few dreams: Vergil in his *Aeneid* has 11, whereas Lucan has only one other real dream (7,1-44), apart from two visions (1,183-212; 7,760-86)[1]. More importantly, Lucan uses dreams to confer

[1]. The small number of dreams may be caused by Lucan's abolishing of the Gods, to growing criticism of excessive use of *somniorum colores* in epic (Quint. Inst.4,2,94; Sen. Con.2,1,33), or, simply, because of the nature of his epic: see VEREMANS 1974 (with following discussion). There is disagreement even as to those few dreams and visions he has: GRILLONE,92 omits 1,183-212 and

pathos to his characters, and they do not further the course of events by disclosing the truth or exposing what steps the heroes should take, which was their traditional function (cf. also DICK 1963,46, MARTI 1975,82). Lucan's dreams aim at provoking horror in the reader[1]: contrary to Vergil's visions, which seem to be embedded naturally in the course of the story, Julia appears suddenly; cf NARDUCCI 1979,122-3. Some aspects of the Lucanean dream seem to belong more to the Homeric than to the Vergilian tradition[2]. On the dreams and visions in Homer: KESSELS 1978,25-173. In Vergil: HEINZE 1915,313-5; STEINER 1952, GRILLONE 1967,30-4, RAABE 1974,83-90. In Lucan: GRILLONE 1967,91-101; MORFORD 1967,75-84, VEREMANS 1974.

Julia's menacing appearance to Pompey recalls the curse Dido imparts on Aeneas, in Verg. A.4,615-29 (cf. 5,1-6; further 4,382-7). According to some scholars, Lucan intended to improve on this passage. cf. RUTZ 1963,519, GRILLONE 1967,95. But many scholars reject this, on good grounds, and instead propose as a model Verg. A 2,771-94, where Creusa appears to Aeneas, cf. PICHON 1912,226, RAABE 1974,88n19, NARDUCCI 1979,123-4, THOMPSON 1984,210, HUBNER 1984,228-31. Creusa encourages Aeneas, consoles him, predicts his good future in Italy, and parts from him: the contrast with Julia seems significant.

Other motifs may play a role too. BRUERE 1951b,222 points to Ov Met 11,650-73 (Ceyx and Alcyone) as a model for the whole scene 1-45, with Morpheus appearing to Alcyone in the shape of Ceyx GRILLONE,94 even detects influence of Seneca (e g Tro 179-89) here.

More convincingly, HUBNER 1984 has pointed to the influence of Roman elegiac poets. This may be seen not only in strong emotions in general, but also in specific motifs, such as 'the dead beloved one appearing in a dream', as in Prop. 4,11,81-4, Cons.Liv.325-9, or 'everlasting love transcending death', as in Prop. 1.19,11, 19-20, 2,15,36, 3,15,46, 4,7,1, etc. This whole meeting is eroticized (see notes below). Lucan adapts the elegiac material to his own purposes. Thus Julia, in a typical Lucanean paradox, declares her love to Pompey by announcing his death.

For the traditional elements of descent into the underworld and the Elysian fields cf. on 12.

In short, Lucan combines several Vergilian and other motifs to give pathos to Pompey, and clarify his gloomy future. The section, like the whole of 1-45, connects past, present and future, and has a strictly literary aim. One should not ascribe to

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adds 8,43 9, but without good reason

[1] LONGO 1988 argues that in this dream we see the poet's pessimistic ideology extended to a metaphysical level However, this interpretation seems too serious and disregards the rhetorical nature of the text.

[2] Thus a remarkable feature of Vergil's dreams is the frequent indication of night A.2,268-9; 3,147, 4,351-52, 4,461, 570; 5,721, 7,102-3, 413-24, 8,26-7, whereas Homer usually mentions dawn Il 2,48-9; 23,109-110; 24,695, Od 6,48-9; 20,91 Night only in Od 4,841 (GRILLONE,32-3) In Ovid dreams occur during the night as well 9,474, 686, 11,651, 15,651-2. This dream in BC takes place during daytime, see on 8 and 27

Lucan anything like a psychoanalytical intention[1].

A firm link within BC is established with 7,1-44. These two dreams of Pompey are the only real dreams in BC. In several aspects (place, length, reference to the past, prediction of doom, characterization of Pompey) they correspond to each other.

Another clear link exists with the appearance of Roma to Caesar entering Italy in 1,183-212, cf. MORFORD 1967,77-9. This confirms the unity of books 1-4, with an inner correspondance between 1-2 and 3-4.

As a woman here curses her former husband, this scene is a clear example of Lucan's imagining the civil war as destroying social relations. The reversal of the normal order will become even more manifest in BC 6, when the whole underworld seems to take part in it[2], and in the battle of Pharsalus in BC 7. On the socer-gener motif see on 32.

Julia herself is the subject of BC 1,114-20, where her death is one of the causes of civil war Her words here are reiterated by Cornelia in a speech in 8,88-106 and 9,101-8. See SCHONBERGER 1968,115 and notes below. In general, Lucan shows a great variety of prodigies and omens· cf i.a. 1,522-83, 641-72, 7,151-84. Pompey's death is often foreshadowed: 1,683-6, 2,735-6; 3,169-70; 290-7, 7,674-5, 711. After his death, it is still referred to in many places, cf. SCHREMPP 1964,15-7.

(5) Imitations.

Julia's appearance to Pompey has inspired the 16th century French dramatist Robert Garnier in his tragedies *Porcie* and *Cornélie*; cf. BAILBE 1980,80-4. Some traces of this scene have been detected in the 19th century Italian author Manzoni's drama *Adelchi*, cf NARDUCCI 1979,120.

9 **diri tum...** : new sections often begin in the middle of a verse. Cf RUTZ 1950 =1970,211, MARTI 1970,4n2 In BC 3 cf. 97, 103, 112, 134, 303, 355, 372, 455.

By convention, visions usually appear in the last form in which they were seen before dying (cf. Verg A.2,270-3; Prop 4,7,7-10) but greater than in real life (Verg. A.2,773, Juv. 13,221-2, Liv. 8,6,9; V Fl. 5,232, Tac Hist.1,86,1, 4,83,1, Ann.11,21, cf. also BC 1,186 *ingens*). Here Julia is horrific rather than huge. *Dirus* in Lucan is increasingly associated with the supernatural: from 'dreadful', the prevalent meaning in Vergil and Ovid, it becomes 'awful, ominous, accursed', cf. MACKAY 1961,311. In BC 3 it is used no less than 7 times. For *tum*, CURRIE 1958 following BENTLEY proposes *cum*, but this is no more convincing than his own conjecture in 8.

horroris: Lucan normally favours words denoting mental activity (*pavere*, *metuere*) rather than words which describe physical manifestations (*horrere*, *pallere*); cf. MACKAY 1961. Words of fear tend to be grouped together; cf. on 404.

10 **visa**: sc. *Pompeio*, cf 1,186-7 *ingens visa duci patriae trepidantis imago*. The verb

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[1] It is sometimes suggested that the dream involves or symbolizes Pompey's own bad conscience, cf Vessey on Stat Theb 2 (Laius' appearance), RAABE 1974,88n19 SALEMME 1976,308 thinks Julia is portrayed like an evil stepmother here

[2] E g the revival of a dead man by Erictho, 6,667-830

videri is almost invariably used in this type of appearances: cf. Enn. Ann.38 Sk.; Verg. A.2,773; 4,557; 5,722; 6,636-7; Ov. Met.9,782; Sil. 17,162; cf. BROUWERS 1985,71.

caput...tollere: cf. 1,582 on Marius' ghost *tollentemque caput gelidas Anienis ad undas*. In 3,256 *caput tollere* is used in connection with a river.

maestum: not 'sad' but 'stern, grim'; cf. OLD s.v.3-4.

per hiantes...terras: Lucan visualizes Pompey's dream: there is no reason to suppose that everything he dreams must take place at sea, as RUTZ 1963,519 suggests. On the contrary: the real Pompey is on a boat, but in his dreams he may seem to be somewhere else.

Iulia: Julia, Caesar's daughter, divorced from Servilius Caepio and married Pompey in April 59 B.C.. Their marriage was happy (Plu. Pomp.53,1-4; Vell. 2,47,2; Sen. Dial.6,14,3), but she died shortly after having her baby in 54 and was buried at the Campus Martius. In BC she is mentioned in three other places: in 1,111-20 her death figures among the causes of civil war, as she was *pignora iuncti sanguinis*; in 8,104 she is called *crudelis* by Cornelia; and she is mentioned neutrally in 10,77. Here 'jealousy' is the leit-motiv, but evidently Lucan did not want to portray her faithfully, but needed an agent for this jealousy; cf. RUTZ 1963,519. In addition, Lucan has pictured her here as a Fury; see on 11. Julia's death had already become a rhetorical exemplum before Lucan: cf. V.Max. 4,6,4.

11 **accenso...sepulchro**: Pompey imagines her on the spot where she was burnt and buried at the Campus Martius (cf. 1,580-1 *e medio visi consurgere Campo / tristia Sullani cecinere oracula manes*). In addition, the fire may have a symbolic value here: the public trust of *socer* and *gener* has been broken; in 1,112 her marriage was called *ferales taedas*; cf. HÜBNER 1984,231. In a wider sense, she does not revenge Pompey's marriage with Cornelia, but the civil war which has resulted partly from Pompey's behaviour.

For *accenso*, SHACKLETON BAILEY reads *escenso*, following some younger MSS. Earlier, Guyet and FRANCKEN had conjectured *adscenso*, which is defended again by BADALI 1989,166. But *accenso* has the best MSS authority and makes good sense: Julia is seen as standing on a 'lighted funeral pyre' (not 'with the marks of fire upon her' as HASKINS comments). With the other two readings, the significant element of fire would be lost. The phrase returns in 6,526 *accenso... sepulchro*.

furialis: 'like a Fury' (cf. TLL V,1617,37ff), not 'raging'. Lucan represents Julia as a Fury, like Erictho in 6,654, but he remains vague. In Latin poetry the Furies are usually represented with a torch in their hand, and with hair consisting of snakes (BC 9,671-4; Ov. Met.4,481-3; Tib. 1,3,69; Verg. A.7,328-9; 456-7; Sil. 2,536; 546; cf. RE Suppl.8,124-6). Both elements appear to have been stressed by the Latin poets; cf. Roscher I,1563,13ff. The element fire is represented here in *accenso...sepulchro*, and in 14-15. Furies occur in dreams elsewhere; cf. 7,783; further Verg. A.4,469; (Sen.) Oct.721-3.

12 **sedibus Elysiis...**: Julia starts by telling where she has come from, as persons in tragedy often do: cf. Polydorus in Eur. Hec.1-2; Thyestes in Sen. Ag.1-4.

Speeches do not further the action in BC. their main function is to motivate and characterize persons or events through pathos and affect In this Lucan continues a tendency already present in Ovid. On the technical level, it is striking that Lucan has a low percentage of verses filled with speech· of the whole of BC 32% is made up by speeches (Homer has some 50%; Verg. A. 38%, according to LIPSCOMB 1909,7). In BC 3 some 184 verses consist of speeches (24%), which is the lowest figure of all books in BC (524 vss. of BC 2 is the maximum). On the other hand, Lucan's average speech is longer (Vergil has approximately 10 lines; Lucan 21, later epic poets between 10 and 15). Finally, Lucan has paid special attention to the introduction of speeches: see on 13. On Lucan's speeches cf. FAUST 1908; LIPSCOMB 1909, KLIEN 1946,138-58, PIACENTINI 1963,43-53, BONNER 1966,284-9; TASLER 1971; MARTI 1975, SANGMEISTER 1978, BURCK-RUTZ 1979,197. In Vergil: HEINZE 1915,403-56; HIGHET 1972.

According to GATZ 1967,174-189 there are two traditions in archaic Greek literature: In Homer we find *èlusion pedion* (Od 4,563) and in Hesiod (Op 171), the *makarôn nèsoi*, both situated on the border of the earth or of the ocean The majority of Greek writers before the Roman period, including Pindar[1], agrees with Hesiod's view, whereas the Elysian field figures only in explanations of Homer, as Str. 1,1,4. Roman writers use the Homeric concept of a blessed place in Elysium again. The 'Isles of the blest' then remain confined to the utopian sphere, and are often integrated in geographical descriptions After some wavering in later Greek literature between an Elysium above or below the earth, Roman authors definitely locate it *apud inferos*.

In Roman literature the concept of the Elysium was first extensively elaborated by Tib. 1,3,57-82, cf. EISENBERGER 1960,193-4, Putnam on Tib. 1,3. Cf. also the colourful description in Verg. A.6,637-65, with Austin's note. It figures in Statius' *Genethliacon Lucani* (Silv 2,7) too: lines 107-119 describe how the dead Lucan enters the Elysium[2]

The ablatives *sedibus Elysiis* and *campo* depend on *expulsa*, cf. OBERMEIER 1886,57. For the phrase cf. 6,600 *Elysias sedes*, 6,699 *Elysios*, 6,782-4 *Elysias Latii sedes ac Tartara maesta / diversi liquere duces quid fata pararent, / hi fecere palam.* The name *Elysius* brings out a general preference in Roman poets to borrow Greek words containing the vowal *y*, which apparently sounded exotic and typically Greek, cf. VAN WEES 1970,135.

campo - piorum: 'expelled from (.) the fields of the virtuous dead'. *Expulsa* has been explained psychologically as referring to Julia's own feelings of jealousy and hate, by NUTTING 1931b,109-10, an idea still referred to by SHACKLETON BAILEY. GRAVES in his free translation makes 'civil war' the agent here, and

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[1] In Pindar we find the island of the blessed situated under the earth (*kata gas*, Pi O 2,59) This element seems to have come from Orphic doctrines, cf GATZ,180

[2] We know that Lucan wrote works which possibly dealt with the underworld *Catachthonion* and *Orpheus*, but as to their content nothing further can be said Cf also Stat Silv 2,7,57 *et sedes reserabis inferorum*

HASKINS suggests that Julia has been expelled by the good because she is polluted. Lucan's text gives no definite answer.

The ascent, whatever its precise cause, may imply a reversal of the motif 'descent into the underworld' (katabasis). Instead of going down and finding peace and happiness, old friends and relatives, and living happily and without fear, Julia comes up, and finds death and doom. She is separated from her relatives, and simultaneously, in a cruel irony, remains 'close' to them by haunting them. In a further ironic touch the reversed katabasis does not lead to new intelligence of truth and future, but is rejected as fake and illusion (see on 36). On katabasis see ETTIG 1891; Norden on Verg. A.6,264ff; Van Dam on Stat. Silv.2,1,183-207. The first examples in Roman literature occurred in Livius Andronicus' *Oduseia*.

The combination *campus...piorum* is also used in 6,798; cf. further Cic. Phil.14,32 *piorum sedem*; Hor. Carm.2,13,23; Liv. 2,38,4; Ov. Met.11,62 *arva piorum*; Tac. Ag.46,1; and OLD s.v. 1b. The repeated *p*-consonant in this line may be deliberate.

13 **inquit**: in his introductions of speeches, Lucan shows the greatest variety of all Latin poets. Usually he eliminates long stock phrases (like 'winged words') of the Homeric and Vergilean pattern, often using just a simple word as *ait* (2,38; 3,38), *dixit* (5,654), *inquit* (5,521) or *fatur* (3,90) or even omitting this word (9,989). This usage is absent in Homer, but appears in Ennius and Vergil; cf. BASORE 1904,95; SANGMEISTER 1978,esp.65-70 (for Silius: LUNDSTRÖM 1971). This case is special, as *inquit* comes after more than one line of speech, which is only parallelled in 6,606.

manesque nocentes: *manes* is the most common word for the ghosts of the dead, also called *mortui*, *lemures* or *larvae*; cf. OTTO 1958,68-78. It originally meant 'the good ghosts', whereas the other words were neutral or negative. The Romans always used the plural form, even when they spoke about one dead person, as in the famous *dis manibus...* on inscriptions. OTTO distinguishes two distinct and contrasted senses of the word: it can denote the corporeal remains or, on the other hand, the 'Totengeist'. It seems impossible to say which sense is dominant here. In Vergil the use of the word seems similar: see BAILEY 1935,241-301; RAABE 1974,150-155. For *manes... nocentes* cf. 6,799 *turba nocens*; and Van Dam on Stat. Silv.2,7,117.

14 **post bellum civile**: 'since the beginning of civil war'. *Post* is explained by OLLFORS 1967b: it means not just 'after' but also 'after the beginning of'; cf. LHS II,243 for this sense. Similar cases: 2,635; 6,145 *ante*. There is no need to emend to *per bellum*, as CASTIGLIONE 1960,63 proposes.

Not surprisingly, *bellum civile* is a frequent expression in Lucan's work. In book 3 it occurs in four other places, 33-4; 97; 323; 354-5; for *bellum* cf. also on 53). The MSS invariably give these words as the title of Lucan's epic. By convention, however, it is often called *Pharsalia*, on the basis of 9,980-6. This title would indeed be more convenient, as it excludes confusion with Caesar's prose work; cf. AHL 1976,326-32; LEBEK 1976,13n1; RUTZ 1985,1469-70. But the interpretation of 9,980-6 is far from conclusive. The title given in the MSS may not be Lucan's, but it is the only title for which we have any MSS authority. I therefore refer to the poem

as *Bellum Civile*.

vidi elision of a long syllable (here *-i*) is not uncommon in Lucan SHACKLETON BAILEY's index (p 292) provides a detailed list of similar cases.

tenentis: the assonance with *nocentes* has a somewhat enchanting effect here The Adn. and possibly V record another reading, *furentis*, for which see HOUSMAN's note.

15 **Eumenidas**: the Eumenides do not function here as Furies who may be appeased, but simply as instigators of war. Lucan mentions them several times: 1,576, 6,664, 695; 7,169, 778, 9,642. As such this is an ominous prediction of the battle of Pharsalus, with Caesar's victory and Pompey's defeat. Lucan has spread a great number of such foreshadowings throughout books 1 to 6, see SCHREMPP 1964,6-13. In BC 3 the catalogue of Pompey's forces in 169-297 is the most important one[1]. What distinguishes Lucan from Homer and Vergil is that he often includes foreshadowings (and flashbacks) in words spoken by the narrator (see on 6), and that their tone is completely negative. The contrast with Vergil's *Aeneid*, glorifying the future Rome[2], is very sharp in this respect.

quaterent - armis. '(I myself saw the Furies holding) torches, which they brandished in front of your weapons' *Vestris armis* is interpreted in various ways Some take it as dative finalis· 'for kindling the strife between you' (DUFF, similarly EHLERS). But it is more consistent with the rest of BC to make Julia blame everything on the fighting parties themselves The Eumenides do not provoke war, they result from war and take revenge for it, cf BOURGERY and perhaps LUCK *Lampadas* is to be taken with *tenentis*. For the whole line cf. Petr 124,277 *sanguineam tremula quatiebat lampada dextra*[3]

16 **innumeras puppes**· by convention, poets equipped Charon with just one small boat Lucan makes him the head of an entire fleet. For the thought cf Petr. 121,117-9 *vix navita Porthmeus/ sufficiet simulacra virum traducere cumba / classe opus est* Petronius does not parody Lucan here, but rather echoes Verg A 6,413 *gemuit sub pondere cumba* and Cons Liv 357-8 *omnes exspectat avarus / portitor, et turbae vix satis una ratis*; cf. GEORGE 1974,126-7, SMITH 1975,216, HAUSSLER 1978,141n92. For the image of a crowding mass waiting to be transferred by Charon, cf. Stat. Theb 11,587-92; Sil 9,249-56

Innumerus is a favourite word of Silver Latin epic poets: Smolenaars on Stat Theb 7,51 reports that it occurs 14 times in Lucan, 42 in Statius, 15 in Silius, and

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[1] Curiously, SCHREMPP mentions neither 3,169ff, nor Lucan's frequent use of the future participle to this end

[2] Modern scholarship on Vergil tends to emphasize the dark undertones of pessimism in the *Aeneid* and the *Georgics*, cf e g LYNE 1987 and 1989 However, Lucan seems to react only to the optimistic, imperialistic aspects of Vergil's poems Accordingly, it is mainly this side of Vergil which is given attention in this commentary

[3] Petronius here probably imitated Ov Met 4,481-2 *Tisiphone madefactam sanguine sumit / importuna facem*, cf GEORGE 1974,129-30 The precise nature of the relation between Petronius and Lucan remains highly controversial

reters to TLL s.v. 1726ff. Lucan has many words with *in-* privativum: in BC 3 i.a. 413 *informia*; 427 *intacta*; 483 *innocua*; 727 *infelix*; for such words in Vergil see ERNOUT 1970.

Acherontis: Lucan mentions the Acheron only here. It occurs 8 times in Vergil (7 in the *Aeneid*). In Aeneas' katabasis Vergil has a long description of the Acheron and Charon (A.6,295-332), to which Lucan alludes here; cf. on 17.

adusti: the shores of the Acheron are scorched. Vergil does not mention this detail in connection with the Acheron. By convention it was said of the Pyriphlegethon: cf. Verg. A.6,550-1 *quae rapidus flammis ambit torrentibus amnis,/ Tartareus Phlegethon*. Cf. also Hom. Od.10,513; Sen. Dial.6,19,4; Stat. Silv.2,1,187 *adusta litora*; Claud. Rapt.1,23-4. For the Acheron cf. also BC 6,704.

17 **portitor**: Charon. The most famous description of this legendary figure is Verg. A.6,295-32; cf. Norden and Austen on A.6,298ff; Roscher I,884-6. Charon is regularly called *portitor*, e.g. 6,704 *flagrantis portitor undae*; further Verg. A.6,298; G.4,502; Prop. 4,11,7; Ov. Met.10,73; Stat. Theb.4,479; 12,559; Sil. 9,251. On nomina agentis in *-or*, see below on 125.

in - poenas: 'the Tartarus opens up for many punishments'. *In* with accusative denotes the aim or target. Here we find a special aspect of death in BC: death as punishment, as in 5,116-20; 6,799-803; 7,470; 610-5; 8,646-7; 10,338-41; Sen. Her.F.1261-2; Her.O.930-1. The motif does not belong to philosophy, but to popular thought; cf. SCHOTES 1969,69-73; 168.

laxantur: 'dilatantur, ut sint capacia' (OUDENDORP). Cf. Sen. Her.F.677-8 *hinc ampla vacuis spatia laxantur locis, in quae omne mersum pereat humanum genus*; Sil. 9,251 HASKINS even compares Jesaja 14: 'Therefore hell hath enlarged herself and opened her mouth without measure'. For the thought cf. 6,799-802 *regni possessor inertis pallentes aperit sedes, ... paratque / poenam victori.*

18 **operi**: to be taken with *sufficiunt*, '...are scarce equal to their task' (DUFF). This task is explicitly mentioned in 19.

cunctae: *cunctus* may well refer to just three persons: cf. 4,430-2. Both Heinsius' *iunctae*, and FRANCKEN's *cuncta* (on the basis of Hor. Carm.4,11,9) are superfluous.

sorores: the *Parcae*, mentioned in the next line; cf. 6,703 *sorores*; 9,838 *Stygiae sorores*.

19 **sufficiunt**: the enjambement seems to underline the difficulty of the task.

lassant: *stamina* is the subject. HASKINS renders: 'the threads weary the Parcae as they snap them', comparing Sen. Her.O.563-4 *colu lassavit omnem texta famularem manum*. The difficult construction has led to several variant readings: F, and most MSS of Prisc. GLK 2,124,20, read *laxant* instead of *lassant*; ZM, Lact. on Stat. Theb.3,642, and Acro on Hor. Epod.13,15, read *Parcae* instead of *Parcas*. Both readings must be rejected.

rumpentis...Parcas: of the three Parcae (Greek: *Moirai*) Clotho attends childbirth, spins the threads of life around her distaff, Lachesis spins the thread of life, and Atropos cuts them off. Lucan attributes Atropos' activity to all three, as in the extant fragment of his work *Orpheus*: *nunc plenas posuere colos et stamina Parcae /*

multaque delatis haeserunt saecula filis (FPL Buechner Lucanus, 1); further Ov. Met.4,221, Ep.19,37; Ars 1,695; Stat. Theb.8,13; Sil. 1,281-2. Elsewhere the Parcae are pictured as spinning the thread: 6,703-4; 777-8, 9,838; cf. Verg. A.10,814-5; Stat. Th.1,632. Ironically, when Lucan speaks of Julia's death in 1,111-4, he says she is *Parcarum .. intercepta manu*. In a more general function they appear in 6,811-2.

20 coniuge me...: after the general part of her speech, Julia continues with personal threats to Pompey. Her curse calls to mind Dido's curses (Verg. A.4,382-7; 615-29) but Lucan has slightly altered the epic motif: Julia does not try to harm Pompey directly, but claims him as her husband. It is 'love remaining'. Accordingly, the verses take up several elegiac motifs, and the atmosphere is 'eroticized'; cf. HUBNER 1984,233-9

duxisti...triumphos. many scholars have pointed to Lucan's 'inaccuracy' here: Pompey celebrated three triumphs (cf. 8,814-5, 9,599-600; Prop. 3,11,35; Man. 1,793-4): in 79, 71 and 61 B C. Therefore, the last one, after victory over Mithridates, had taken place two years before his marriage with Julia in 59 B C.. However, in matters of detail Lucan readily sacrifices historical truth to pathetic effect. For *ducere triumphos* cf. 9,598-9, 10,65; 154; further Sen. Epigr.10,3, Calp. Ecl.1,51; TLL V,1,2142,7ff. *Triumphos* occurs invariably in this position in the verse (30 times in BC) For triumphs in Rome, cf. in general KUNZL 1988.

21 Fortuna: Pompey was famous in antiquity for his 'good luck' (*felicitas*): cf. Cic. Man 47, Vell. 2,53,3 In BC 1-6 Pompey is connected with Fortuna several times: e g. 1,134-5, 2,568, 699-701, 3,169, 5,755, and from BC 7 onwards this becomes even more frequent. But now Fortune has abandoned her former favourite, as she has deserted Rome (cf 2,727-9 *lassata triumphis / descivit Fortuna tuis*, 8,21-3; 701-8) and has transposed her favour to Caesar (see on 448), and, more in general, to the guilty (448 *servat multos Fortuna nocentes*)[1]. This aptly illustrates the absurdity and chaos of Lucan's universe, where everything is turned upside down; cf. GRAY 1974,73-87, further DICK 1967,238-9.

The precise relation of Lucan's *Fortuna* with *fatum* and the Gods remains a matter of dispute, but in recent years many scholars have subscribed to the view that *Fortuna*, *Fatum* and *dei* in BC are merely synonyms for one evil power. Especially SCHOTES 1969,110-56 has done important research here; cf. also LIEBESCHUTZ 1979,142-3.

mutata toris: 'has changed along with your love'. *Torus* often stands for 'marriage', but may also have sexual connotations; see OLD s.v.; PIERRUGUES 1826 s.v.. The ablative may be explained as sociative ablative (though it is normally preceded by *cum* in classical Latin), or, with HASKINS, as *toris mutatis*. For the phrase, cf. Prop. 4,8,28 *mutato.. toro*, Ov. Ep.5,34 *mutati amoris*.

Fortuna's incessant changes had already become proverbial before Lucan: cf. the motif of 'Fortune's wheel' in Cic. Pis.10,22 with Nisbet's note; Tib. 1,5,70; Ov.

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[1] Fortune seems to function as a divine agent here AHL 1976,291-3 and BERTOLI 1980,46 have even suggested that she replaces Venus, the alleged ancestor of the Iulii, but this seems too speculative In the end, characters in BC remain entirely responsible for their own decisions

Tr.5,8,7.

22 **detrahere - maritos**: 'condemned by fate to bring her husbands to rack and ruin'. The clause depends on *Cornelia* in 23. *Fato damnata* should not be taken as an important theological statement on the part of the poet. It is not asserted that man's behaviour is governed by divine forces, but Lucan uses the poetical, epic vocabulary to suggest that Cornelia's actions are ruinous, in the eyes of his persona Julia. With *maritos* Julia is exaggerating, since Cornelia had been married only to Crassus (on whom see 126). Julia's words on Cornelia's 'ill fortune' are deliberately echoed in a speech of Cornelia herself in 8,88-105; for which cf. Liv. frgm.46; Plu. Pomp.74,3. See BRUERE 1951b,222; SCHÖNBERGER 1968,115. In BC, *maritus* invariably stands at this place in the verse (24 times).

23 **innupsit - busto**: 'married you while the pyre was still warm'. *Tepido...busto* is a loosely constructed ablative with the function of a temporal ablative absolute. For the phrase cf. Mart. 5,37,14 *recenti...busto*; Stat. Silv.5,3,242 *gelidis... bustis*. The pyre in question is surely Julia's, although it has sometimes been thought this is a reference to Crassus' death in Parthia. Here too, Julia is exaggerating. In fact, there was an interval of two years between Julia's death (54 B.C.) and Pompey's new marriage (52 B.C.). During that time the ashes of Julia's tomb had surely grown cold. HÜBNER 1984,231 speaks of 'poetische Konzentration' here.

For *innupsit* some MSS (RQGVJ; cf. GOTOFF 1971,196) give *en nupsit*, but this has been rejected by modern editors.

paelex: 'mistress', a term of abuse, used particularly by women rivalling in love for one man; cf. Cic. Clu.70,199; (Sen.) Oct.125; 186; Sen. Her.O. 290; 334; Med.920; Sen. Con.6,6,1; cf. OPELT 1965,esp.47-48. Alternative epithets are *adultera*, *capta*, *scortum* a.o.. It does not occur in epic before Lucan, but Ovid has no less than 44 instances, e.g. Ep.5,60; 6,81; 149; Ars 1,320-1; 365). Here in Julia's speech it seems somewhat awkward. BRUERE 1951b,222 mildly suggests that Lucan does not use it in its precise sense. However, Julia claims her man here as if she were alive (cf. 28 *coniunx*); thus she may well call his present legal wife Cornelia a 'rival'. In 8,104 Cornelia even refers to herself as *paelex*.

Cornelia: this secondary character plays a comparatively important role in BC, often as a speaking person (whereas her name occurs 15 times). She is hidden by Pompey at Lesbos (BC 5,722-815), accompanies him after the battle of Pharsalus, and pays a final tribute to him after his death (BC 8,1-9,185). If we look at the quantity of verses, she appears as the fourth speaker in BC after Caesar, Pompey and Cato: see TASLER 1971,195. On Lucan's Cornelia cf. BRUERE 1951b; VIANSINO 1974,120-4.

Lucan's Cornelia has been considered as an allegory and symbol for 'women's loving qualities': in this view she is completely devoted to her husband, unselfishly loving him and sacrifying herself to him, having no personal pride or negative sides at all; cf. KLIEN 1946,54-62; NEHRKORN 1960,204-19; BURCK 1971,73. Up to now no one has seriously questioned this image of Cornelia, although negative aspects of her character, and of the love she shares with Pompey have not remained unnoticed: cf. cf. VON MOOS 1975,1028. Thus she is repeatedly said to bring doom

upon her husband(s): cf. 8,88-105; 9,65-8[1].

Outside BC, Cornelia does not appear in Latin poetry, but Lucan's image of her influenced later authors, as Abelard (see VON MOOS 1975 and 1976) and Corneille (see WANKE 1964,41-75).

24 **haereat**: according to HÜBNER 1984,235n29 and 238n42 this is 'das typisch elegische, in dem Gebot uneingeschränkter Liebe begründete *haerere*', as in Ov. Am.3,11,17. Cf. also Prop. 1,3,19; 19,5; 2,15,25, a.o..

per bella, per aequora: 'in battles and at sea', a slightly strange combination. Casus obliqui of *aequor* usually stand on this place in the verse (62 out of 77 cases)[2]

25 **non securos**: proleptic, 'so as to make them unquiet'. *Securus* has a philosophical ring. Seneca more than once relates *securitas* to fearlessness in the face of death; cf. Ag.799; Thy.720; Dial.1,13,5; Ep.92,5. In BC cf. 438; 7,707.

rumpere somnos: cf. BC 7,24 *ne rumpite somnos*. For the idea (the lover thinks of the beloved day and night): cf. Tib. 3,4,54-6; Prop. 1,5,11; 4,11,81-2. For the whole line cf. 5,750 *securos cepisse pudet cum coniuge somnos* (Pompey speaking).

26 **nullum - amori**: the line may have been inspired by Prop. 1,1,34 *et nullo vacuus tempore defit amor*. SHACKLETON BAILEY prints *nullam*, obviously an error. The casus obliqui of *amor* nearly always stand at this position in the verse (18 out of 22 cases). On *amor* in BC cf. TUCKER 1990.

27 **teneat**: for *tenere* with a non-living object in an erotic context, cf. Prop. 2,16,28; Tib.2,3,59; Ov. Met.9,146. With a living object it is common in elegy.

Caesar: here first mentioned in BC 3. See on 46. Significantly, father and daughther are cooperate here to bring doom upon Pompey.

-que...et: this combination belongs to elevated style in poetry, and is frequent in Vergil. In Lucan cf. 6,124; 9,12; LHS II,515; TLL V,2,887,36-7.

noctes: considering the elegiac elements in the context, *noctes* might have an erotic connotation here. GRILLONE 1967,95 is wrong in saying the word proves that all dreams in Lucan, as in Vergil and Ovid, come during the night. In the present narrative it is undoubtedly still day (cf. above on 8, and cf. 40-43).

28 **me non Lethaeae...**: this goes far beyond traditional Roman religion. Not even the Lethe has made Julia forget Pompey.

coniunx: Julia once more explicitly underlines what she thinks to be a still existing marriage to Pompey: he is 'her husband'. In 9,101-2 Cornelia uses the same word in a diametrically opposed speech, in which she announces she will follow her 'husband' down to the Tartarus: *iam nunc te per inane chaos, per Tartara, coniunx, / si sunt ulla, sequar.*

29 **regesque silentum**: Pluto and Proserpina. Cf. Ov. Met.5,356 *rex...silentum*; Lucan has a few other names for these Gods: *inferni dei* 1,634; *dei Erebi* 6,513; *Tartarei reges*

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1. It has been suggested that Lucan has modelled her on his own wife Polla Argentaria: SCHÖNBERGER 1968,122; VON MOOS 1975,1025-6; VIANSINO 1974,120, but there is no evidence to support this idea. It reflects an outdated tendency to explain a text using biographical information.

2. The nominative singular appears in the sixth foot in 28 out of 30 cases; cf. e.g. 494; 552; 685.

6,651; *Lethaei dei* 6,685-6; *Stygii numina regni* 7,169. The *silentes* are the *umbrae* of the underworld, as Verg. A.6,264 *di, quibus imperium est animarum, umbraeque silentes*; 6,432; Ov. Met.15,797. The praesens participle, here replacing the metrically impossible *inferorum*, is used as a substantive, as in 721; 4,273; 5,215; 315; 6,758; 8,870; cf. OBERMEIER 1886,11.

30 **permisere sequi**: an exceptional grant. In a katabasis (see on 12) a person may obtain permission to enter the underworld unharmed, but here we see the reverse. The motif may be taken from Prop. 4,7,87ff where Cynthia threatens the poet that she will come up from the underworld and disturb his dreams at night. *Sequi* is equally used in 9,101-2, quoted above on 28. For the idea of the lover following the beloved everywhere, HÜBNER 1984,236-7 compares Prop. 2,26b,29-30; 4,3,45-8; Ov. Met.11,441-3.

te bella gerente: for the ending in *bella* with a form of *gerere* cf. 7,79; 533; 607; 8,502; 10,147. This ending was very popular: cf. Verg. A.7,444; Ov. Am.1,9,45; Her.13,59; Met.12,418; Fast.5,59; Pont.2,5,61; further SCHUMANN 1983, s.v..

31 **in medias acies**: the enjambement seems to be employed deliberately here.

numquam - licebit: 'the shades and my spirit will never suffer thee to forget thou art his son-in-law' (HASKINS). DUFF and LUCK think that *umbras* refers only to Julia's shade, but in combination with *perque meos manes* this would be a tautology. A similar threat to Pompey is contained in 7,674-5: *socero spectare volenti / praestandum est ubicumque caput*. Forms of *umbra* are common in this position in the verse (62 out of 84 occurrences in BC).

Magne: a vocative in the fifth foot is quite frequent in BC: cf. 2,126; 302; 725; 6,249.

32 **genero - licebit**: due to Pompey's former marriage with Caesar's daughter Julia, he and Caesar have become relatives, *gener* and *socer*. Already in Verg. A.6,830-1 Anchises refers to them thus, and cf. Ov. Fast.3,202. Lucan constantly returns to these epithets: cf. e.g. 1,4 *cognatasque acies*; 1,289-90 *socerum depellere regno / decretum genero est*; 4,802; 5,64; 7,71. The recurrent motif was evidently felt to be typical for the work, considering the *Epitaphium Lucani*,1-2: *...proelia dixi / quae gessere pares hinc socer inde gener*. The words *socer* and *gener* serve as variations for the proper names, but, more importantly, they focus the reader's attention on the nature of the war: an impious civil war destroying social relations; cf. GREGORIUS 1893,67; SCHÖNBERGER 1968,31; VIANSINO 1974,9-15; BROUWERS 1982,18-19.

The dative *genero* posed a problem for several MSS, which replaced it by *-um*, *-os* or even *-i*. But attraction by a governing *licet* is normal.

33 **abscidis...pignora** : praesens de conatu, as in 1,351; 3,362; 10,359. Pompey tries to cut off the *pignora* with a sword; cf. V.Fl. 1,488 *retinacula ferro / abscidit*. *Pignora* are 'the ties of kinship that binds you' (DUFF). The plural is used of children as tokens of their parents' love: cf. Prop. 4,11,73; Ov. Fast.3,775-6; Sen. Med.1012; Oed.1022; Tro.766; Quint. Inst.6,1,33; further Verg. A.4,328-9.

frustra: Lucan rarely uses the traditional *nequicquam* (only 2,491; 7,674; 10,104), but prefers *frustra*, which occurs 18 times in BC.

34 **te faciet...meum**: '(civil war) will make you mine'. This sententia centers around the word *civilis*, as many of Lucan's sententiae and points do: cf. 2,62-3; 595; 3,95-7; see BONNER 1967,267 and notes below on 97 and 354. We should not be surprised at this: the 'civil war' is the fundamental paradox underlying the poem as a whole. For *bellum civile* cf. above on 14.

As the ancient scholiasts note, this is a veiled prediction of Pompey's death. In addition, it underlines Julia's claim of Pompey once more. HÜBNER 1984,237 compares Cynthia's threat in Prop. 4,7,93-4: *nunc te possideant aliae; mox sola tenebo: / mecum eris et mixtis ossibus ossa teram.*

In *meum*, HÜBNER detects yet another elegiac theme: the unconditional claim of possession of the beloved; cf. Prop. 1,9,27-8; 2,34,13-4; for the possessive pronoun without substantive used in this sense, cf. Prop. 1,6,9; 1,8,26; 2,8,6; Ov. Am.2,19,48.

sic fata refugit: here the ghost is explicitly said to disappear, but the sleeper is not said to awake. Both of these elements are present in Verg. A.4,570-2; Ov. Met.9,701-3; 15,25-7; they are both missing in Verg. A.3,172 and 7,456.

35 **per amplexus...**: the topos of 'trying to embrace a ghost' is traditional in epic: cf. Hom. Il.23 99-100; Od.11 206-8; Enn. Ann.48-9 Sk.; Verg. A.2,792-4; 6,700-02; Ov. Met.11,675; Sil. 13,648-53. But it occurs outside epic too: cf. Verg. G.4,499-502; Prop. 4,7,96; Sen. Tro.459; cf. GRILLONE 1967,96; HÜBNER 1984,233.

Here Pompey's reaction implies that he believes in the vision's reality, and that he longs for Julia. This seems incompatible with his cool reasoning in 36-40. We should not try to explain this psychologically, as HÜBNER,233 tries to do[1]. Pathos and rhetoric are more important to Lucan than consistency and integrity of his characters: he does not even attempt to reconcile conflicting elements; this goes for Pompey in particular (see RUTZ 1968). The attempt to embrace the ghost simply belongs to the topos of the appearance of a ghost. In the following verses a shift in the rhetoric aim will lead to different literary allusions.

trepidi: for the recurrent motif of 'fear' in the first three books of BC see on 97-112. In 96 Pompey is called *pavidus*, and throughout BC *timor* is one of his most striking features. For the Latin vocabulary of fear see on 404.

36-45 Pompey is not frightened by the dream. He reaches Greece.

(1) Summary:
Pompey is fully aware of the dangers lying ahead, but questions the dream's reliability: either there is no sense perception after death, he argues, or death itself means nothing to us. Near the end of the day his ships arrive on the Greek side of the Adriatic, and the voyage ends.
(2) Structure:
The scene 1-45 ends with a short section closely mirroring 1-9: first the central

1. In his view, Pompey is willing to deliver himself to Julia's charms, which means he is prepared to die: a 'seltsame Spezies des *amor mortis*.'

subject, Pompey's dream, is rounded off in a Lucanean paradoxical manner. After this Pompey's function is completed. Then the poet suddenly returns to what he started with, the ships and the natural setting. By its nature the section does not significantly advance the course of events, but rather comments on it.

(3) Historical material.

No historical model seems to have been followed in this section, which is dominated by literary motifs.

(4) Literary material.

In a regular epic dream section the sleeper accepts the dream and obeys it as Aeneas does in Verg A 3,176ff. However, Pompey rejects it in a rationalistic reasoning, quite different from the passionate gesture with which the previous section ended Lucan needs a cool, strong, Pompey here, and accordingly changes his attitude[1]

Pompey's argument has many predecessors in philosphical literature, see below on 39 Most scholars have simply stated that Pompey argues like a Stoic philosopher here, cf. RAMBAUD 1960,156, LUCK 1985,514, comparing Sen Ep 65,2). But SCHOTES 1969,79-82, 168 has rightly shown that the scepticism concerning afterlife expressed in BC (cf. below on 7,19-24, cf further 7,470-1, 8,749) is definitely non-Stoic[2] These verses 39-40 sound even Epicurean: see on 39. A survey of aspects where Lucan shows himself not an orthodox Stoic is given by COLISH 1985, cfr also BILLERBECK 1985

Pompey is normally dominated by affects such as *timor* and *dolor*; cf. VÖGLER 1968,259-64 Here all *timor* seems absent But the dream seems to have no effect on the course of events: Pompey will not reappear before BC 5,722ff, where he is *dubium trepidumque ad proelia* (728) In VÖGLER's view there is a development in the typical affect of each protagonist in BC, including Pompey It seems better, however, to regard Pompey's reaction as a 'stationary moment' (a term coined by RUTZ 1950)· a local and temporary change in a character for the sake of a special effect It seems that even within these few lines Lucan has not intended to harmonize Pompey's reaction: he rejects the dream, but goes ahead *certa cum mente malorum* That is, he does not reject what the dream portends. Thus the philosophical reasoning stands out even more sharply from the rest

The famous dream in BC 7 is equally explained in a rationalistic way (19-24) There the poet himself offers three alternative explanations, whereas here Pompey discusses two possibilities As VIANSINO 1974,85 has noted, the third explanation

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[1] Sections such as this one have given rise to the concept of Pompey as a Stoic sage in development, a *proficiens*, cf MARTI 1945 Her theory has been supported by some scholars (KLIEN 1946,99, MENZ 1952,86), but rejected by most of them As LINTOTT 1971,504-5 has shown, it is based on a wrong interpretation of Sen Ep 75

[2] Only occasionally, as in Pompey's apotheosis (9,1-18) Lucan is 'orthodox' in this respect Besides, in BC several other concepts of afterlife are present, such as 'the soul wandering on earth', (a non philosophical, folkloristical motif), cf 7,768-70; 8,433-5, 762-3, a o , 'the soul purified in the aether', cf 7,815-7

(*seu vetito patrias ultra tibi cernere sedes / sic Romam Fortuna dedit*) is in accordance with the melancholic mood in 1-45. But we may go further: in BC 7 Lucan makes no clear choice as to which of the three explanations is the right one, like Pompey, who cannot decide whether the vision is real or imaginary.

Just as Pompey rejects the dream, Cato refuses to consult the oracle of Juppiter Hammon in 9,564-86. Lucan pours scorn on men who do consult oracles, such as Appius in 5,224-36 and Sextus Pompeius in 6,423-37.

Throughout BC Pompey seems repeatedly aware of his imminent doom, but is unable to change anything about it; cf. 5,754-9; 7,85-6; 8,575. Sometimes he seems a tragic figure, blinded by *ate* (cf. 2,526-30; 8,262-327). But it is not correct to say Pompey acts in this way here, as GLAESSER 1984,116 does: *certa cum mente malorum* leaves not much room for doubt in this case. Pompey is fully aware of imminent doom.

36 **dei - minentur**: 'although the Gods and the shades threaten with disaster'. *Dei* may refer to the *reges silentum*, as HASKINS suggests, but may also be used in a more general sense. In BC, the Gods are usually no less evil than Fortune; cf. on 21.

quamvis: Lucan often uses *quamvis* (33 times; 5 of them in book 3), but seems to avoid *quamquam* (10 times; not in book 3). However, the latter cannot be called 'prosaic', since it is preferred to the first by Vergil, Valerius and Silius; cf. AXELSON 1945,124.

37 **maior in arma ruit**: 'he rushed still greater into battle'; a clear echo of Verg. A.2,353 *moriamur et in media arma ruamus*. It is not enough to say that Pompey is pictured like Aeneas here, as NARDUCCI 1979,124 does. Nor is *maior* the equivalent of *magis*. Lucan wants to stress Pompey's inner greatness and heroism and to this end he uses a clear allusion to Pompey's name *Magnus*: Magnus rises above himself. SKARD 1957 has found an close imitation of this wordplay in the 12th century Norwegian *Historia de antiquitate regum Norwagensium*, written by Theodoricus Monachus.

In arma may seem strange at first sight, because Pompey is fleeing from Caesar rather than joining battle. But the perspective is wider: *arma* points to the coming battle of Pharsalus.

certa - malorum: 'though well aware of calamity to come'. DUFF's translation 'with a mind made up for calamity', adopted by THOMPSON 1984,210, is not accurate. Pompey is not 'willing' to suffer calamity, but he is certain that it will come.

38 **quid...**: one third of Lucan's speeches starts in the middle of a verse (44 out of 124; in BC 3 further: 134ff; 559ff; 742), and two thirds end in the middle of a verse (76 out of 124; in BC 3 further: 34; 40; 97; 133; 355; 372; 437; 721); these figures are much higher than in Vergil, who has only about a quarter in both cases; cf. FAUST 1908,5-7. The length of this speech is not exceptional: Lucan has some 23 speeches of 5 lines or less; cf. FAUST,5. For speeches see further on 12; for their introduction, here by means of the simple *ait*, on 13.

vani...imagine visus: almost the same combination is used in the description of

Pompey's other dream: 7,8 *sollicitos vana decepit imagine somnos.*

terremur: on the vocabulary of fear in Latin epic poetry see MACKAY 1961, esp. 313. See further on 404. For the idea that death must not be feared: cf. 8,395-6; 8,630-2.

39 **aut - nihil**: 'either no consciousness is left for souls after death, or death itself is nothing'. Lines 39-40 are concise to the point of obscurity, and have not always been correctly understood. The first part does not question the reliability of the ghost, as HOUSMAN and NUTTING 1931,49-51 state, following the Comm.Bern. and other ancient scholia. The appearance has already been called *vanus* in 38. The whole sentence rather deals with fear of the vision's contents, the announcement of death. SCHOTES 1969,67-8 paraphrases: death robs us of our senses and we relapse into some sort of sleep-like unconsciousness, as in Hom. Il.23,103-4; Pl. Ap.40C-D; Cic. Tusc.1,97; Catul. 5,5-6, Sen. Dial. 11,9,2-3; M.Ant. 8,58. If not, the senses keep on functioning, but death is nothing, an *adiaphoron*, to us, perhaps just a *metoikèsis* to a new life, as for the Druids in 1,454-8.

However, instead of Stoic, these lines, and especially the second alternative, sound Epicurean[1]: death means loss of sensation, or death means nothing to us. In neither case it is to be feared. Cf. Epicur Ep.3,124-5: *epei pan agathon kai kakon en aisthèsei, sterèsis de estin aisthèseôs ho thanatos ... to phrikôdestaton oun tôn kakôn ho thanatos ouden pros hèmas, epeidèper men hèmeis ômen, ho thanatos ou parestin hotan d'ho thanatos parèi, toth' hèmeis ouk esmen*; Lucr 3,830-69 esp 830 *nil igitur mors est ad nos neque pertinet hilum*; Sen. Dial.6,19,5; Tro.397 *post mortem nihil est ipsaque mors nihil.* Within BC we may compare 7,470-1; 8,749 *si quid sensus post fata relictum*; 9,101-2 *iam nunc te per inane chaos, per Tartara, coniunx, / si sunt ulla, sequar*[2].

Several words in this line seem to have a standard position within the verse: *aut* appears at the beginning of a line in 50 out of 114 cases; forms of *anima* and *animus* in the 3rd/4th foot in 17 out of 34 and 17 out of 37 respectively. Perfect forms of *relinquere* appear in final position in 63 out of 64 cases; already Ennius and Vergil preferred this position; see Norden on Verg. A.6,p.380n1. The ending with forms of *mors* and *relinquere* is traditional as well: cf. e.g. Verg. A.6,444 *morte relinquunt*; 10,673; Stat. Theb.7,768; Disticha Catonis 2,25,2; see SCHUMANN 1983,

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1. SCHOTES,80 says this is true except for the word *animus*, which implies some sort of afterlife, whereas Epicurus completely rejected this idea - But in Lucr DRN 3 *animus* and *anima* are used constantly, from which it does not follow that Lucretius believed in an afterlife In addition, the argument seems to suppose rigid philosphical logic, whereas Lucan' diction is rather loose and poetical Finally, the speaker here is Pompey, who is not necessarily the mouthpiece of the poet himself It is not intrinsically impossible to attribute a temporary Epicurean point of view to either one of the characters in BC, or even to Lucan himself Generally speaking, he is eclectic and not consistent, which is particularly clear in his views on the afterlife, as SCHOTES has shown himself

2 For the rationalism· cf 7,809-10, 8,629-31 *spargant lacerentque licebit, / sum tamen, o super, felix, nullique potestas, / hoc auferre deo* (Pompey is speaking) For the fundamental doubt: cf 3,406, 8,458-9

s.v. *morte*, who does not mention the present text.

aut...(aut): scientific problems in Lucan are presented in several ways, but the most common one is to suggest alternative solutions to a problem, by *aut...aut*, *vel...vel*, *seu...seu* and similar pairs. Cf. 1,47-8; 234; 641-5; 2,7-13; 622-3; 4,299-302; 5,92 a.o; cf. ECKARDT 1936,33; VIANSINO 1974,67n95 and 81n7. Being a didascalic device it is favoured by Lucretius too[1]. Cf. also Ov. Fast.3,123-5; 231-3. Only a few lines later Lucan will repeat it: 42-3 *seu...seu*.

a morte: wrongly explained by HASKINS as 'by means of death'. For the temporal sense of the preposition, cf. OBERMEIER 1886,66; OLD s.v. *ab* 13b.

40 **Titan**: this name is regularly used for Helios, considered as son of the Titan Hyperion, but once (9,654) it refers to Atlas. For Phoebus see on 231.

iam: it is an conventional epic device to start a scene with a description introduced by *iam* or another adverb of time (e.g. *interea*, 169); cf. *entha* Hom. Od. 1,11; Verg. A.1,223; 695; Ov. Met.3,1; 7,1; 8,1; 14,1; Petr. 89,1; 119,1; Stat. Theb.1,46; cf. LEBEK 1976,116.

pronus - ibat: one of the rare examples of sundown in BC: cf. 5,424-5 and 8,159-61. Lucan has obviously imitated Ov. Met.11,257 *pronus erat Titan*, but has also tried to avoid traditional clichés, such as mythological elements, the sun's whiteness or its light. To denote the movement he avoids poetic words like *condere*, *tingere*, *mergere*, but instead chooses the simple *ire in undas*, for which cf. Ov. Fast.2,73[2]. He also adds new elements to the topos; see on 41.

Here, as in 8,159-61, the sundown closes a section where Pompey crosses the sea, and foreshadows coming events; for the symbolism cf. also KÖNIG 1957,179-80; SCHÖNBERGER 1968,100. In general on sunrise and sundown in Latin poetry cf. BARDON 1946 (95-6 on Lucan); JENSEN 1961. For sunrise in BC see on 521.

undas: this popular poetical word appears very often in this position in the verse: 116 out of 147 times in Lucan. In Vergil 56 out of 66; in Ovid 126 out of 131.

41 **et igniferi tantum...**: 'had sunk so much of his fiery disk, as the moon is used to lack when she is going to be full, or has already been full', that is, shortly before or after full moon. In the topos of the setting sun Lucan adds a new element by his 'scientific' precision as to the extent to which the sun has sunk below the horizon[3]. The locution is complicated, but the notion is simple: the sun has just dipped into the sea. The idea is closely parallelled by 8,159-161 *iam pelago medios Titan demissus ad ignes / nec quibus abscondit, nec si quibus exerit orbem, / totus erat*; for the complex description cf. further 4,446-7.

tantum...(quantum): the comparison belongs to the same field as its object, as

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1. Still, neither ECKARDT nor VIANSINO mention Lucretius here. The relation between Lucan and Lucretius has not yet been thoroughly studied.

2. In both other sunsets Lucan uses prosaic words as well: 5,424 *Phoebo labente sub undas*; 8,159 *demissus ad ignes*.

3. Another new element can be seen in 9,624-5 and 866. Here, the poet uses the idea of boiling sea water as a result of the sinking sun, reflecting an old, popular belief; cf. BARDON 1946,95-6.

2,162-5; 416-20; 665-8; 672-7; 715-9; 3,284-90; 470-1; 549-50; a.o.. Lucan strives for full analogy between elements in his comparisons, not just in one *tertium comparationis*. On Lucan's comparisons cf. ECKARDT 1936,58-9; AYMARD 1951.

42 **lunae**: Lucan shows special interest in the moon: cf. 1,412-4; 537-9; 5,546-50; 6,500-06. For the moon in Stoic theory, cf. SCHOTES 1969,40-2.

seu...(seu): cf. above on *aut...(aut)* 39.

futura: the future participle is linked with a perfect tense (*fuit*), as in 7,781-2; Sen. Dial.12,20,2; Ep.48,8 *perditae vitae perituraeque*; 74,34; cf. VIANSINO 1974,148.

43 **hospita tellus**: 'hospitable land', not 'foreign' as HASKINS says; cf. OLD s.v. 1. No name is given, neither of the land, nor of a specific harbour. It is simply 'the other side of the sea', the contrast of *Hesperia* of line 4. The attention is directed to its function rather than to topographical precision. The ending *hospita tellus* occurs in Ov. Fast.1,511; V.Fl. 3,304; cf. SCHUMANN 1983, s.v.; cf. further Verg. A.3,539 *bellum, o terra hospita, portas*; Ov. Met.3,637.

44 **legere rudentes**: 'the men hauled in the stays' DUFF. The phrase is quoted by ancient grammarians Pompeius 5,234,30K and Cledonius 5,60,6K (giving Vergil as author). Prisc. GLK 2,157,5 quotes lines 43-44. The *rudentes* here are not ropes which held the mast in its position, as FRANCKEN says, but the 'brails', ropes connecting the *velum* to the ra; cf. VIERECK 1975,22 (with an illustration). The ropes are hauled in to shorten the sails.

The nautical operation is described briefly but accurately: hauling in the ropes (and sails), laying along the mast and rowing to the shore. Lucan has a special interest in nautical operations, and, in general, in the sea; cf. on 509-762.

The verb *legere*, here synonymous with *colligere* or *contrahere*, is used in several nautical expressions[1], such as *vela legere*, Verg. G.1,373; A.3,532; Ov. Ep.15,216; *ancoras legere* Sen. Tro.759. For all nautical terms and phrases see especially SAINT-DENIS 1935.

45 **posito...malo**: *ponere* here stands for *reponere* or *deponere*. In maritime phrases of post-classical poetry the composite verb is often replaced by the simplex, cf. SAINT-DENIS 1935b,131. In classical poetry this tendency had already been manifest in other lexical fields. For ancient masts, cf. CASSON 1971,231-2; VIERECK 1975,21-3.

Lucan has embellished the verse by the repeated o-vowel. It underlines the relaxation coming at the end of the unquiet journey. For the moment Pompey seems to be safe. D.C. 41,14 gives a long list of bad omens after Pompey's landing in Dyrrachium. Surprisingly, Lucan omits this detail.

remis - litora: for the ancient rowing technique, cf. CASSON 1971,278-80; for oars: ROUGE 1981,44-7. *Petere litus* as such is a vague, but regular expression; cf. Verg. A.1,157-8; Ov. Met.15,643; Sen. Ep.14,8; 53,3.

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1. Already ancient scholiasts (Adn. and Comm.Bern.) say the word is a *verbum nauticum*.

46-168 Caesar remains in Italy, and marches to Rome. Amidst general fear he is opposed by the tribune Metellus, but this resistance is broken. Caesar takes hold of the state treasure.

(1) Summary:
Caesar is unable to pursue Pompey. After strategic arrangements in Sicily and Sardinia he marches to Rome, where he is met with fear and submission by the people and the Senate. Only the tribune Metellus opposes his plan to take the state treasure from the temple of Saturn. However, Metellus' resistance is quickly broken by the intervention of a third person, Cotta. Finally Caesar can safely bring out the treasures from the temple.
(2) Structure:
After the introductory scene 1-45, which was closely linked with book 2, here we have a new beginning, which might have started the book if Lucan had intended an inner, thematic unity for each book.

In fact there is no such unity (contra SYNDIKUS 1958,105-9; MITCHELL 1973). Lucan constructed his poem from 'blocks' consisting of scenes, which are often sharply separated from each other; cf. BURCK/RUTZ 1979,164-5 for the terms[1]; further FUHRMANN 1968; VAN DER NAT 1976. Lucan clearly alternates 'blocks' around Pompey and scenes 'blocks' Caesar; cf. SYNDIKUS 1958,25-6. Here a new Caesar-block starts, which in its turn will be followed by a Pompey-block in 169ff.

The Caesar-block 46-168 consists of five scenes. (i) 46-70 brings the action much further in a short time, and thus paves the way for the following stationary, pathetic scenes in Rome. The first of these, (ii) 71-97, concentrates on Caesar about to enter the town, a theme worked out in several poetical ways, e.g. a speech by Caesar himself. (iii) 98-112 pictures the reaction of the people and the Senate summoned by Caesar, and prepare the second, most important pathetic scene, (iv) 112-152, where Metellus' opposition to Caesar is the central theme. This scene may be further subdivided into a number of sections: cf. on 112-152. The block is closed with a short catalogue of the treasures Caesar takes with him, (v) 153-168, where the age old conquests of the Roman people recall the venerable places mentioned in (iii).
(3) Historical material:
The whole block shows a clear alternation of sections where the historical events are followed more or less closely, and sections which are poetical inventions of Lucan. Thus Caesar's military preparations in Italy, his march to Rome, his conflict with Metellus and his taking away the treasures are all attested to by other sources, whereas other elements (see below) seem invented freely within the framework of literary tradition; see below on the various scenes. On the whole Lucan's intention is clearly not to relate the course of events, but to present static, highly pathetic scenes. The brief accounts of historical events serve mainly as links between them, and accordingly contain only details which seem relevant to Lucan's purpose; see on

1. The terms were coined by RUTZ in his 1950 dissertation. In the article I refer to, they are explained clearly and succinctly.

46-70.

(4) Literary material:

The poet uses various techniques to present his theme, such as poetical description (60-70), pathetic criticism (73-79), a speech (91-97), corresponding speeches (123ff, 134ff; 145ff); enumeration (155-167, cf. 84-7).

A dominant motif in BC is resistance Caesar meets with. In book 3 Metellus and the city of Massilia are the main opponents, but even the sea (esp.62ff) seems to defy him. Elsewhere we may point to Domitius in 2, 478-525 and the mutiny of his own soldiers in 5,237-373.

The image of Italy, both political and geographical, is consistently sombre, as in the whole of BC. The Roman citizens have become weak and cowardly, the land deserted and wild. The political section on the Roman Senate shows additional correspondences to 5,1-64, where Senators are gathered by Pompey in Thessaly; see on 97-112.

46-70 Caesar remains behind, and takes strategic measures in Italy.

(1) Summary:

Caesar stays all alone on the shore and watches Pompey's fleet disappear on the horizon He is not pleased with this success, because he would have preferred war He decides to change his policy and raise further support of the people To insure this he gains control over the corn trade, sending troops to Sicily and Sardinia, the most important corn producing provinces.

(2) Structure:

The short, intermediate section 46-70 is carefully built up It starts with the image of Caesar, who stands all alone on the Italian shore, gazing at the disappearing ships of Pompey, and feeling anger (46-52). This image closely mirrors the opening of 1-9, where Pompey sails away from Italy, melancholically gazing at the shore. As to its chronology, we may say that it overlaps at least part of 1-45. Lucan regularly deals twice with the same events as focalized by different characters, without indicating their simultaneity. For this surprising treatment of simultaneous events see GÖRLER 1976,301-5.[1]

After the opening image, attention shifts to Caesar's new plan (52-8). This in its turn motivates the lines on the expedition to Sicily and Sardinia (59-64), whose enormous corn production is then celebrated by means of poetical comparisons (65-70).

In addition to their function in this text, the closing sections (59-70) foreshadow events to come in book 4, by mentioning Curio (cf. 4,689-824) and *Libye* (the setting of book 4); cf. RUTZ 1950,63.

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[1] The most striking example of this phenomenon is Caesar's crossing the Rubicon in 1,183-212, 213-232 At first sight he crosses the same river twice On closer scrutiny the first version is focalized mainly by Caesar, the second one mainly by the narrator See further analysis in GORLER 1976

The whole section is a good example of what RUTZ 1950,64 calls a 'secondary scene' ('Sekundärszene'), a section which is subordinate to primary scenes, i.e. battle scenes or pathos scenes. It connects various elements in the text and continues the main lines of the story, but its aim is not historical accuracy, but compositional force.

(3) Historical material:

The historical details of Lucan's picture are partly confirmed by other sources, but they are given a different context here. (i) Lucan makes Caesar stay behind involuntarily and angrily, whereas in Caesar's own account (Civ. 1,29-31) his decision to stay is made rationally, because he has no ships (cf. D.C. 41,15,1; Plu. Pomp.42,2; Plu. Caes.35,2). Appian and Dio add the reason that Pompey's forces in Spain are more dangerous (App. BC 2,6,40; D.C. 41,15,1), and Appian further points to Pompey's growing popularity in Italy, because of which Caesar seems at a loss. All of these arguments are missing in Lucan, who thus underlines the pathetic and weakens the strategic aspect. (ii) Caesar's tyrannical plan to subdue the people by starvation is not confirmed by other sources. We are dealing with a literary motif here (on which see below). Lucan may even have transposed to Caesar a reproach commonly made to Pompey; cf. on 56). (iii) His military measures are only considered in some detail by Appian and Caesar (D.C. 41,15,1 only mentions a detachment left behind in Brundisium. The other sources, Vell. 2,50,1-2; Flor. Epit.2,13,21-2; Plu. Pomp.42,2; Plu. Caes. 35,2; Suet. Jul.34,2; Eutrop. 6,19,3-20,1 do not give any detail). Caesar mentions sending Quintus Valerius to Sardinia (cf. App. BC 2,6,40), and Curio (according to Appian: Asinius Pollio) to Sicily and Africa, but seems to divert attention to other stories. Thus he tells how Cato, then in command of Sicily, is disappointed in Pompey (contrast Appian's story). Needless to say, this does not occur in Lucan. (iv) Lucan's poetical comparisons are absent in the sources I have hitherto referred to.

We do not gain a clear impression of events from Lucan's account. He selects a few details which suit his poetical aims, and embellishes them in various ways. He does not give any positive explanation of Caesar's behaviour, and omits everything which might plead for him.

(4) Literary material:

Lucan's Caesar has not much in common with the historical Caesar. Like Pompey and most other characters, his picture remains one-dimensional and fragmentary. In addition, he is consistently depicted very negatively by Lucan. With NARDUCCI 1979,98-107 we may discern at least two typological patterns on which Lucan's Caesar is modelled. As (i) subversive, he is dominated by *furor*, *spes* and *ira*, from which *impatientia* results. He does have *virtus*, but has placed himself beyond law and order and must continue committing crimes. He is mad and calculating at the same time. The subversive *par excellence* is Sallustius' Catilina. He is also (ii) a tyrant, well beyond all social norms, almost wild, a subversive who has gained power and who can do whatever he wants, defying men and Gods. In the present scene both elements are mixed: 46-53 seem typical of a subversive, 54-58 of a tyrant. To these two models I would add a third one: Caesar is also (iii) a foreign enemy. This image emerges especially from the next section, but it may be seen here too: he

takes military measures against his own country. Typical elements belonging to these three models occur throughout BC, next to historical material. For Caesar as dominated by affects: cf. RUTZ 1950,127-186; VÖGLER 1968,259-64; and see on 112-52; for Caesar as tyrant: SYNDIKUS 1958,94-8; BONNER 1966,278; KOPP 1969,63-90; Caesar as foreign enemy: AHL 1976,107-112; SCHRIJVERS 1988,343-4; 350 and see on 71-97; 97-112; 154 and 299.

Lucan's Caesar may also have been influenced by epic models of the 'bad protagonists' such as Vergil's Turnus, or by contrast, Vergil's Aeneas; cf. THOMPSON 1968; or the 'wrathful hero' as Homer's Achill; cf. SCHRÖTER 1975,101. In addition, influence of Stoic ideas, particularly of Seneca, has been detected; cf. GEORGE 1988 (on the Stoic theory of *oikeiôsis*) and GLAESSER 1984,1-11 (on *scelus* and *nefas* in Seneca's tragedies). Further on Lucan's Caesar: FRIEDRICH 1938; DILKE 1972; AHL 1976,190-230; JOHNSON 1987,101-134; in general on the historical Caesar: GELZER 1960; WEINSTOCK 1971; GESCHE 1976; YAVETZ 1983; PÖSCHL 1987.

Just as Pompey is consistently pictured as static and inert, Caesar is a 'mover', a striking force, acting rapidly and violently. The basic simile is 1,143-57; cf. ROSNER SIEGEL 1983, and cf. on 1-9 (4) and 434.

The poetical descriptions in 60-70 show Lucan's interest in learned subjects, particularly in geography.

***(5) Imitations*:**

Lucan's Caesar has been the model for characters in English Elizabethan drama; cf. BLISSET 1956; VON KOPPENFELS 1975; and even for Satan in Milton's *Paradise Lost*; cf. BLISSET 1957; MARTINDALE 1981b.

46 Caesar: significantly, the new block with Caesar as central character opens with his name. This occurs repeatedly: 1,392; 466; 2,439; 5,476; 7,728; 9,950 [1]. For Pompey's name in such a position only 2,680 can be referred to. SCHÖNBERGER 1968,74-5 calls this a 'tektonisches Leitmotiv', but this seems somewhat exaggerated. He is definitely wrong in assuming that the present case is less sharp because of an ironic context (75n2). There is no irony here, nor would the presence of such irony weaken the impact of a structural motif. For the construction of the sentence, see below on 48.

ut emissas - carinas: 'when the wind had snatched away the vessels after their departure'. *Emissas* does not refer to 'Caesar's grasp' (DUFF) but to the harbour in which the ships had been caught; cf. EHLERS' 'aus der Falle davongetragen'.

Silver Latin epics poets avoid the common word *navis*, and use only poetical synonyms: *carina*, *puppis*, *pinus* a.o.; cf. AXELSON 1945,50; WATSON 1985,441-2. In Lucan's case this is all the more striking, since ships occur so frequently in his work. Forms of *carina* nearly always stand in this position in the verse (58 out of 62 cases in Lucan; all 25 cases in Vergil; all 34 cases in Ovid).

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1. Cf. also *dux* at the beginning of 3,453. Cases where Caesar's name occurs at the beginning of the opening line of a section: 1,183; 392; 466; 2,439; 7,728; 9,950.

47 **abscondit - classes**: that is, when the ships had sailed beyond the horizon. For the idea cf. Sil. 3,156-7, V.Fl. 1,496. With *abscondit* there is a shift of focalization: we see things through Caesar's eyes now[1]. Here *fretum* is the subject and *classes* the object of the verb, for the topos of ships covering the sea, cf. on 566.

solus: Caesar stands 'alone' like Pompey (cf. on 4), but in an entirely different way. His supreme and mighty isolation on the coast is reinforced by the chiastic structure of *litore solus / dux Hesperio*, with the additional element of enjambement. Furthermore, the name *Caesar* is separated by more than two lines from the main verb *(non illum) laetificat*. Caesar's 'lonely greatness' is studied by RUTZ 1950,150-9.

48 **dux**: translators generally take *solus* with *dux*, translating 'as unrivalled leader'. But it is not Caesar's unchallenged leadership which is the point here, but the fact that he remains alone like Pompey in 4 (see above, on 47) *Dux* merely characterizes him as a military commander, just like Pompey has been called *dux* in 9. It seems better to translate: 'and as the commander stood on the coast, all alone, ...'. For the poetical function of 'standing' see on 117

non illum...Magni· 'the glory of having driven away Magnus does not make him glad'. The construction of the main clause is disrupted, resulting in an anacolouth[2]. This once more highlights the importance and force of the name *Caesar* in 46. *Caesar* is an isolated, emphatical nominative, for which see LHS II,29-30 The present phrase is quoted by Priscianus (GLK 2,435,26) For the following construction cf. below on 49 *queritur*.

gloria for the use of *gloria* in BC cf TUCKER 1984, esp.4-7. Here it seems to have a disapproving sense.

49 **laetificat - vincere tanti**. lines 49 to 51 have an identical metrical structure, with alternating dactyls and spondees In book 3 metrical repetitions of three lines occur in three other places· 228ff, 356ff, 373ff, cf VELLA 1987,135.

queritur...: in 2,707, Caesareans in Brundisium fear that Pompey might reach the sea: *pelagusque dolent contingere classi*. Now Pompey has even disappeared beyond the horizon. The symbolical function of the sea as the element of Pompey seems particularly clear. The sea obstructs Caesar in a literal sense Cf. on 1-45 (4)

Here, a sentence including a negation is complemented by a positive sentence, ending in a special effect For this frequently used pattern NOWAK 1955 has coined the term 'Negationsantithese', which he subdivides in various types (p 133-162). Here the negative and positive element are connected asyndetically, as in 3,415-7, 500-1. NOWAK himself has dealt with this scene as example of another category, cf. on 51.

Caesar is constantly depicted as dominated by affect, usually *ira*, but here exceptionally *dolor*, as in 2,659-60 and 9,1063 (simulated); cf. RUTZ 1950,129-

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[1] By contrast, in Sen Ag 456 *iam litus omne tegitur et campi latent*, a similar situation is focalized by men on a ship

[2] HASKINS refers to Verg A.1,3 but that is not an anacolouth

150,esp.129n1; VÖGLER 1968,259-64. The contents of Caesar's *dolor* make clear that his only real motif is not the will to political power, but a lust for war and blind destruction; cf. 2,658-60; 7,320-9 a.o; cf. RUTZ 1950,147.

50 **terga ferant**: 'they are fleeing'. The normal phrase is *terga dare (praebere)* or *terga vertere*; cf. OLD s.v. 3-4. For *terga ferre* cf. V.Fl. 2,460; Stat. Theb.9,487. Lucan transfers the dynamic aspect from the start of the movement to the actual process of getting away. Thus EHLERS has 'in Sicherheit das Weite suchten'. BOURGERY translates 'tournent le dos sans péril' as if the text reads *vertunt. Tuta* leaves no doubt about the success of the flight, and by its allitteration with *terga*, adds more weight to the whole phrase.

neque enim...: Caesar is characterised negatively throughout BC. Particulary his demonic energy and delight in destruction and bloodshed are stressed. The first and most important text is 1,143-50; cf. further 2,439-40; 650-2; 3,82-3; 364-6; 5,409-11. Such repetitive images show that there is no change of political views in the course of the poem; cf. MARTINDALE 1984,69-70.

51 **fortuna**: for Fortuna cf. on 21. Here, in combination with *ulla*, the word appears to mean no more than 'success', as in 4,256, and most editions have this translation.

praecipiti: Lucan constantly stresses the negative aspect of Caesar's famous *celeritas*. For *praeceps* used as an epithet for Caesar or his actions, cf. 2,489; 656-7 *Caesar in omnia praeceps / nil actum credens, dum quid superesset agendum...*; 3,391; 5,301; 6,14; 7,496; 9,47; 10,508. Significantly, *praeceps* is also used of *fatum* in 6,98. Cf. further for Caesar's speed: 1,135-57; 204-12; 2,656-7; 3,298-9; and see on 299[1].

nec vincere - differret erat: 'his <sc.temporary, immediate> victory was not so much worth for him that he could tolerate that <long term> war was postponed.' 51-2 round off the thought of the preceding lines in the form of a paradox: war, means and way to victory, is preferred to victory itself. *Malebat iam dimicare quam vincere* as the Adn. explain. NOWAK 1955,13-15 regards this as an example of 'Pathossteigerung' through a final paradox. The point is spread over two half verses, with a natural pause in between, which heightens the tension. Cf. 1,166-7; 3,111-2; 689-90; 4,312-3; 691-2 (NOWAK,116). For the thought cf. 1,145 *solusque pudor non vincere bello*; 3,365-6 *damnumque putamus / armorum nisi qui vinci potuere rebellant.* Cf. further the passages referred to on 50 *neque enim*. The Lucanean phrase has been imitated by Claud. 5,249-50 *non est victoria tanti / ut videar vicisse mihi.*

Words like *vincere* and *victor* are used of Caesar already before Pharsalus: in BC 3 cf. 71; 79; 122; 133; further 148. By using such words Lucan removes all possible suspense in his tale, thus showing that his aims are different.

52 **differre**: one of the words which denote opposition to Caesar's impetuous energy. Cf. 1,281 (Curio's famous words to Caesar) *semper nocuit differre paratis*. Other such

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1. According to HOLLIDAY 1969,57 Lucan also feels 'admiration for Caesar's energy and dynamic personality'. She is completely right in stressing that Lucan does not criticize Caesar in every line. But BC is not a subjective, emotional poem, but a complex literary work of art. Therefore it is wrong to ask whether he 'favours' Caesar or not. We may simply state that the poet is interested in Caesar as a rhetorical subject. An aspect like 'speed and energy' is particularly suited to a rhetorical approach.

words: *haerere* (3,453; 7,547); *teneri* (5,410); *morari* and *mora* (3,392; 5,480, 7,240, 295; 9,1002).

pectore curas: a combination of *pectus* and *cura* is a conventional verse ending In BC: 1,272; 8,161. Cf. further SCHUMANN 1983, s.v., who lists two pages of parallels. Casus obliqui of *pectus* normally appears in this position in the verse (66 out of 79 cases in BC).

Cura has several meanings, varying from 'care' to 'anxiety', but usually has a positive ring: in a military context it is characteristic of the good general. In elegiac poetry it denotes the turbulent feelings of love, and in epic poetry it can oppose 'passion of love' to 'divine plans'[1]; see HAUSER 1954,esp.16-20. Whatever the connotations of the word, Caesar brushes aside all his 'cares': the highly dynamic *expulit* in 53 is used instead of words like *(re)mittere* or *deponere* [2]. Caesar's destructive energy leaves no room for any form of *pietas*.

53 expulit: a very strong word, see on 52. Its position as first word in the verse and the enjambement underline its force once more. For thought and phrase cf. 9,950-1 *cetera curarum proiecit pondera soli / intentus genero* (equally said of Caesar)

paci...intentus: 'intent on peace'. Cf. Caes. Civ.3,19,5 *omnium animi intenti esse ad pacem videbantur*. Not surprisingly, *pax* is much less frequent in BC than *bellum*· *pax* occurs 57 times (including its composites), whereas *bellum* occurs no less than 319 times. Caesar's sudden peace plans seem to be in conflict with his lust for war in lines 49-52 However, it will appear that he is not sincere see on 143, cf. also Cic. Att.10,1,4 *de pace idem sentio quod tu, simulationem esse apertam*. The *pax* in the present text will turn out to be no more than a pause between acts of violence

agebat 'bore himself' For this absolute use of *agere* HASKINS cf t Tac Ann 3,19 *apud illos homines qui tunc agebant*. Cf. also OLD s v 20 'to adopt an active policy, to take action'. In poetry this absolute usage is very rare; cf. only Ov Met.13,371 and Sil. 7,212.

54 quoque - amores: '(intent on peace.) and on how to find a means to raise the futile favour of the common people'. The clause is to be taken with *intentus* according to nearly all editors, with the exception of BOURGERY (who takes it with *gnarus*). The syntax is irregular: *intentus* is first constructed with a dative (*paci*), and then with this clause. HOUSMAN compares Ov. Tr.2,373-4 for an even more audacious construction. BC 2,439-40 contains a similar syntactical anomaly: there *gaudet* seems to be constructed with both an acc.c inf. and a *quod*-clause

Lines 54-8 motivate Caesar's actions in 59ff. As SYNDIKUS 1958,18-20 has

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[1] In the *Aeneid* Aeneas is troubled repeatedly by *cura*, 'lähmende Angst, dumpfen Zweifel und Unsicherkeit' (HAUSER,67) 1,208, 3,153, 5,701, 720; After book 6, when his mission becomes clear, *cura* becomes less important, but still we find 8,19; 10,217 In the last case it is really part of the image of Aeneas as exemplary general *Cura* equally burdens Valerius Flaccus' Jason, and Silius' Hannibal

[2] Sil 8,162-3 *pectore curas / dispulerat* and 13,263 *pulsis curis* may have followed Lucan

shown, Lucan only seldom provides motivations for what his characters do[1]. Perhaps he does so here, because Caesar's motivation is exceptionally wicked, or because he wants to express his own view (cf. below).

vanos populi...amores: since *vanus* has many negative connotations ('futile', 'unreliable', 'vain' or 'silly') this can hardly be Caesar's opinion, although his contempt for the people is manifest. Why would he need 'futile' favour? Although Caesar was the focalizer above (see on 47), it is the narrator who shows his political judgement from line 50 onwards. Lucan belongs to the senatorial aristocracy, whose political aim has been described as 'senatoria libertas': freedom for the senate, but not for the common people; cf. on 145. See also below, on 56.

55 **gnarus - trahi**: 'well aware that the reasons for its anger, as well as the highest weight of its sympathy are governed by the price of corn'. FRANCKEN (following the Adn. and Comm.Bern.) aptly paraphrases: 'ira et favor parantur annona negata aut data'. He and HASKINS say this is a metaphor from the scales. *Momentum* indeed can be taken as that which turns the scale (cf. OLD s.v. 7b); cf. 338; 4,3; 819; 5,339; 7,118. For the metaphor of the scales cf. also e.g. 1,57-8; 2,41; 439; 5,378; 6,603; 9,19. Most translators remain imprecise as to the meaning of the word here.

Gnarus is not used by Vergil (contrary to *ignarus*). Here it is constructed with acc.cum inf. as in Sall. Hist.3,98; Liv. 23,28,5; 33,5,4; Curt. 3,1,21; 9,2,21; Tac. Hist.2,20 and many cases in Late Latin.

56 **annona**: D.C. 41,16,1 confirms Caesar's plan, though he places it at a somewhat later stage, when Caesar is already in Rome[2]. But Lucan may have had more in mind. For a period of five years in the first century B.C. the *cura annonae* had been entrusted to Pompey. His measures did not lead to a lasting improvement, due to the outbreak of civil war; cf. HERZ 1988,46-54; GARNSEY 1988,215-217. Another allusion may be that Pompey himself is said to have planned opposing Caesar by blocking grain transports to Italy; cf. Cic. Att.9,7,4; 9,9,2; Fam.14,7,3. The historical Caesar may have intended a positive contrast to Pompey's plans for propagandistic reasons; cf. JEHNE 1987,292. Lucan, by willingly omitting Pompey's plans, presents Caesar's measure in an entirely different light, as no more than a means to manipulate [3]. On Caesar's policy of gratifying the *plebs urbana* see esp. JEHNE,286-331; on Rome's grain supplies see HERZ 1988 and GARNSEY 1988.

momenta: cf. above on 55.

namque asserit - timere: 'that is because only the desire to satisfy hunger keeps hold of cities, and fear is bought, when the mighty feed the idle people: a people

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1. Thus Caesar's decision to cross the Rubicon in 1,183ff; or to cross the Alps in 3,299ff is not motivated by anything specific. SYNDIKUS provides many other convincing examples.

2. App. BC 2,48 mentions Caesar's corn distributions even later, in the period of his dictatorship.

3. Caesar indeed used grain supply policy to this end. His care for Rome's grain is illustrated on many coins: see JEHNE,292n29.

that is starving does not have fear', a dense threefold sententia The citizens' desire for food has become more important than anything else. By distributing corn, Caesar can make the people submissive. They would regain their former self-esteem and reaffirm their liberty only in response to food shortage[1].

For *assent*, 'keeps hold of' (similarly LUCK and BOURGERY), the translation 'makes. free' is possible as well (cf TLL II,864,8-10; DUFF, EHLERS and GRIFFA, probably following the Adn.), though it does not express the basic meaning of the verb. But the first sense conforms to the preceding negative remarks on the degeneration of the people, whereas 'makes . free' would stress the heroic element. Secondly, the link with the second element (by *-que*) is much more natural. Finally it leads up much more clearly to the third element, which is a real climax, and in the other case would be a mere repetition

In these lines, the narrator evaluates the military and political situation, as in 296ff, 4,821-4[2] Like many Roman writers, Lucan presents the Roman people as degenerate and submissive, cf. 1,84-6, 158-82; 239-61 (reactions in Ariminium, foreshadowing those in Rome), 351 *urbi servire paratae*. In the following sections of BC 3 it will return in full force, see on 97. The present foreshadows the famous maxime *panem et circenses*, which is what the people want according to Juv. 10,81. The motif of hunger will return in 342ff On the role of the masses in Lucan's work see on 303.

Lucan's Caesar is prepared to mislead the masses (as in 7,264-5) and he despises them (cf 7,730 *viles animas*). However, the historical Caesar consistently strived after popularity and took care to compensate for possible damage of his economic measures, cf YAVETZ 1983,156; 165f, 179-80 and passim.

57 **fames**· must be understood dynamically as 'desire to satisfy hunger' (cf. OLD s.v. 1 'a desire for food') and not statically as 'lack of nourishment', which is expressed later by *ieiuna*. By manipulating this desire, a powerful man may take a grip on a city. For the thought Sen. Dial 10,18,5 *cum ventre tibi humano negotium est, nec rationem patitur, nec aequitate mitigatur nec ulla prece flectitur populus esuriens.*

potentes: often used in BC to denote politicians who may be considered enemies of *libertas*, cf 1,271, 3,21, 4,806, 9,170 (sing.), 193 (sing).

58 **nescit - timere**: the threefold sententia which started in 56 here reaches its climax in a powerful sententia of only four words Such short sententiae occur in 1,81; 97, 281, 4,487; 702, 5,290, 292; 343, 746-7; 7,727, 8,85, cf. BONNER 1966,268[3]. For the thought cf. 3,342-55, esp.349-50, 4,410 *expugnat quae tuta, fames*. The sententia is

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[1] In Rome, food shortage usually led to hostile demonstrations during a *contio* or show, sometimes turning into riot Confrontation between plebs and authorities could include violence in some form, usually used by both sides, see GARNSEY 1988,206 8 For the importance of the grain supply policy in Rome in relation to mutiny and revolt, see VIRLOUVET 1985

[2] According to NEHRKORN 1960,75 this is one of the cases where we see the poet acting almost as a 'secondary character' in his own poem The terminology is awkward, but her examples of similar cases (p 69-99) are illuminating

[3] Of three words 2,15, 4,253, 6,532, 7,78, 9,403, cf BONNER,268-9

quoted by Prisc. GLK 2,320,22, and by several Medieval writers; cf. MANITIUS 1892,709; 717; 718.

59 **Curio**: C. Scribonius Curio, an important secondary character in BC. His name occurs 11 times. His function is not just to cast light upon the main characters or to connect different parts of the epic (cf. NEHRKORN 1960,256-264). To Lucan, Curio is a paradigm of the moral decadence of the late Republic. He is an instigator of the war between Pompey and Caesar (1,261-95), but also possesses greatness: thus his death forms the tragic end of BC 4 (4,799-824). Many scholars have noticed Curio's double character; cf. SCHREMPP 1964,71-74; MORFORD 1967,4-5; AHL 1976,88-103; SAYLOR 1982; RUTZ 1984,177-8[1]. On the varying ancient judgements of Curio (negative as Vell. 2,48,3 or positive as in Caes. Civ.) cf. OFFERMANN 1977.

Curio's name here also serves as preparation for the end of BC 4, the end of the first tetrad (cf. above on 46-70). His passage to Sicily and Africa is taken up again in 4,581ff (Sicily returning in 4,583) and Curio's death is described at length at the end of BC 4. In classical poetry Curio figures only in Lucan, cf SWANSON 1967, s.v..

Sicanias...in urbes: actually, Curio is on his way to Africa, which together with Sicily and Sardinia is marked as a corn producing country. Gathering food supplies is the main target of Curio's expedition[2]. Sicily had been entrusted by Pompey to Cato, who arranged a settlement with Curio, and left the island without further resistance. On these historical events in Sicily cf. Caes. Civ.1,30; Cic. Att.10,16,3; Plu. Cat.Mi.53,2-4; D.C. 41,18,1; 41,41,1; App. Civ.2,40 (cf. 2,54); Flor.2,13,22 [3]. Lucan wisely remains silent on Curio's success on Sicily and Cato's rather unheroic behaviour. On Cato see further on 164. *Sicanius* is used as a variant for *Siculus*; cf. also 177 and 2,548.

transcendere: the verb usually refers to movements on land OLD s.v. 1 gives several examples with mountains or rivers. Perhaps Lucan chose this word to maintain the suggestive dactylic rhythm of the line (with the exception of the spondaeic third foot).

60 **qua mare - terras**: 'where the sea either covered the land with sudden inundations or split it, turning the middle of the land to coast'. With this poetical description of a geographical spot ('topothesia') Lucan amplifies the prosaic details concerning the military measures. Nature as a whole seems to be involved: the fierce battle between land and sea which separated Sicily from Italy (60-61), has not yet subsided (62-63, in present tense).

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[1] SCHÖNBERGER 1968,46wn10 gives a too fragmentary and too negative image of Lucan's Curio. In his view he is characterised not as a person, but only through 'Motivreihen', e.g. young man, corrupt man, or demagogue.

[2] MENZ 1952,89 says the expeditions to Sardinia and Sicily are not made on strictly military grounds, but to obtain power over the corn supplies. That is, of course, a military target.

[3] Dio and Florus relate the Metellus-episode (in BC 3. 112ff) before mentioning the islands.

The idea that Sicily was separated from Italy by force was common: cf. Verg. A.3,414-9 *haec loca vi quondam et vasta convulsa ruina / (tantum aevi longinqua valet mutare vetustas) / dissiluisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus / una foret: venit medio vi pontus et undis / Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque et urbes / litore diductas angusto interluit aestu*; Sen. Nat.6,30,1. Cf. further Serv. on Verg. A.3,414ff; Lucr. 1,716-30; Sall. Hist.4,26; Sen. Dial.6,26,6; Her.F.372-8; Her.O.79-83; Sen. Suas.1,9; V.Fl. 1,587-90; Sil. 14,11; Plin. Nat.2,204; Mela 2,115; Pomp.Trog. 4,1; Claud. 33,142ff. For the idea of land turning into sea and vice versa: Ov. Met.15,262-9.

Here, the struggle of land and sea is exemplary of the civil war, and visualizes its effects on a higher level; a similar amplification may be seen in 3,169-270, where the entire world seems to participate in the war. In particular, the symbolical connotations of land with Caesar and water with Pompey seem deliberately used here. As always, the resistance embodied in the sea is overcome by Caesar. The poet may also be alluding to the Stoic concept of *ekpurôsis*, of which inundation and dilution were possible phenomena; see 1,76-7; 2,289-92; 5,181-2; 634-5; 7,134-7; 812-5; Sen. Nat.3,27-30; cf. SCHOTES 1969,18-25; MORETTI 1983; COLISH 1985,255-6. For the scientific *aut...aut* see on 39. For the whole literary background cf. ECKARDT 1936,39-48.

The same theme of the separation of Sicily and Italy already occurred at the end of the excursus on Italian geography (2,435-8). There Lucan did not present two alternative explanations, as he does here, but simply said that the sea invaded the land. Generally speaking, Lucan is particularly sensitive with regard to the border between land and sea; cf. 1,409-19; 4,455-61; 9,303-18; cf. also KÖNIG 1957,164-174. A similar short description of a strait, introduced by *qua*, is 5,232-6[1]. Lines 60-1 are quoted by Prisc. GLK 2,516,17 and Phocas, GLK 5,433,19.

subitis: the adjective *subitus* is quite common. Cf. OLD s.v. 1c and 4, for which e.g. Ov. Met.2,349; 3,123; 7,372; Sen.Ep.71,15 are quoted. Cf. also Verg. A.2,680; 3,259; 4,571, a.o.. In BC 3 cf. 261 *subito...hiatu*; 579 *subita...ruina*.

61 **medias - terras**: HASKINS' 'intervening' for *medias* is correct, but reduces the paradoxical contrast with *litora*: the 'middle' becomes 'border'. For the ending *litore terras* cf. 4,415; 9,174; Verg. A.7,10; for the whole line cf. BC 3,275 *mediae dirimens confinia terrae*.

62 **illic**: this word indicates the shift from the ancient past to the present state of affairs. The verbs change from past tense to present tense.

ingens: one of Vergil's favourite words, used of the greatness of nature and of the mythological past (cf. HEINZE 1915,489; Austin on Verg. A.4,89; Williams on A.5,118). It is much less frequent in Lucan, but we still find 34 cases in his work.

pelagi: as in 2,435-8 (mentioned above, on 60), Lucan tries to vary the words he uses. SCHNEIDER 1966,146-7 disapproves of this as 'pseudodeskriptive Anhäufung verschiedener Bezeichnungen für das Meer'. Such a negative verdict on Lucan, accompanied by praise of Vergil, seems out of date now, but had been common for

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1. In 1,100-3, the Isthmus of Corinth is used as a symbol for the middle position Crassus had held between Caesar and Pompey.

a long time.

semperque - montes: 'and the floods always struggle to prevent the severed mountains from regaining their former bounds.' As often in ancient literature, both water and mountains are endowed with force and determination, as if they were living creatures.

63 **ne - montes**: the words are quoted by Lactant on Stat. Theb.3,597.

64 **bellaque - oras**: 'war is further spread even over Sardinian shores'. A vague expression, implying a flagrant contradiction to Caesar being *paci intentus*. On the historical events cf. the sources mentioned on 59 *Sicanias...in urbes*. Just as Lucan omitted the name of Cato in connection with Sicily, here he does not name the Pompeian commander M. Aurelius Cotta, nor the Caesarean legate Q. Valerius Orca. Both men do not play a role in BC, and their names may therefore have seemed irrelevant to Lucan[1].

The sentence coincides with the verse. One line sententiae occur often in introductory or concluding sections. In BC 3 cf. 153; 171. *Spargere* occurs no less than 10 times in BC 3 and is clearly one of Lucan's favourite words; for the phrase cf. 2,682 *spargatque per aequora bellum*; 6,269-70; Verg. A.7,551 *spargam arma per agros*; Tac. Agr.38,2; Ann.3,21; Sil. 9,277. Lucan even has *Caesar...per omnem spargitur Italiam* 1,466-8.

With *-que*, a firm link is established between 64 ff and 59. The short ekphrasis on the strait of Messina (60-63) is enclosed in between. Lines 65-70 seem to be another ekphrasis, but in fact they hint at Caesar's initial motive for the expeditions, taking control of Rome's grain supplies.

Sardoas: an uncommon adjective modelled on Greek, instead of the normal *Sardus*. In poetry it occurs only in Ovid, Martial (8,32,7 *Sardois...oris*) and Silius; cf. SWANSON 1967, s.v..

65 **utraque**: with long first syllable as in 2,59; 3,538 a.o.. With short first syllable in e.g. 173; 590; 4,137; 196.

frugiferis: an old composite, going back as far as Enn. Ann.510 Sk. *terrai frugiferai*. It occurs in poetry and prose but is not used by Vergil. Sardinia and Sicily are called *annonae pignora* by Flor. Epit.2,13,22. Speaking of Caesar's measures, App. BC 2,40 calls Sardinia *purophorousan*. For Sardinia's grain cf. also App. BC 5,72; Cic. Man.12,34; Var. R.2,3; Hor. Carm.1,31,3-4; Plin. Nat.18,66; for the fertility and richness of Sicily cf. Cic. Ver.2,2,5; RE II,2,2480-1.

66 **nec prius - terrae**: 'no lands filled Hesperia with imported crops before them, or filled the Roman granaries more abundantly'. Some editors (as DUFF and LUCK) follow the Comm.Bern. in taking it as a hendiadys. However, two separate points are made: they were the first provinces which supplied Italy (in general) with grain, and they produced the largest harvest for the Roman granaries (in particular).

Instead of *prius*, V reads *plus*. HASKINS defends V's reading, but is not convincing.

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1. In BC 3,143 ff. a character named Cotta is introduced, but he is another person.

67 **conplerunt horrea**: the image seems an echo of Verg. G.1,49 *immensae ruperunt horrea messes*; 2,518; Man. 3,152 and Aetna 12 *complerunt horrea messes*.

68 **ubere - annum**: 'hardly does Africa surpass them in fruitfulness of soil, when the south winds lull and the north wind drives the clouds towards the southern sky: then rain pours down and Libya produces a large harvest'. The syntax of this praise of Sicily and Sardinia is as complex as the thought: only Africa, another traditional corn supplying province, can produce more grain, but only in exceptionally favourable weather conditions. For praise of Africa's fertility cf. Hor. Carm.1,1,9-10; Sil. 1,213-4. Lucan does not mention the fact that Curio after conquering Sicily passed to Africa. If he had done so, this poetical comparison would not have had the same force.

In *ubere glaebae* we seem to have another echo of Vergil. The combination occurs in Verg. A.1,531 and 3,164 (cf. also Sen. Oed.156). It may be significant that both cases in the *Aeneid* deal with *Hesperia*. *Ubere* is not a form of the adjective *uber*, as OBERMEIER 1886,11 suggests, but is the substantive used in the special sense 'soil rich in nourishing quality' for which OLD s.v. 3 quotes Verg. G.2,185; A.3,95; Aetna 443; a.o..

superat: some MSS (Z^2ABM(?)Y) read *superant*, probably with *glaebae* taken as nom.pl.; cf. GOTOFF 1971,116.

69 **cum medium - annum**: in his description of Africa in BC 9, Lucan returns to the exceptional northern winds bringing rain to Africa: *Arctoos raris Aquilonibus imbres / accipit et nostris reficit sua rura serenis* (9,422-3). The motif is taken up by Stat. Theb.8,410f and Rut.Nam. 1,148 (to Rome, on Africa:) *sole suo dives, sed magis imbre tuo*.

medium...sub axem: *medius axis* does not denote 'the equator' here as FRANCKEN suggests, but rather 'the hot zone', 'the tropical regions'; cf. 2,586 *calida medius mihi cognitus axis / Aegypto*. Lucan does not indicate a topographical point, like in 10,250; 287, but remains rather vague. For *axis* as 'sky' or 'a part of the heavens' cf. 423; further OLD s.v. 5; TLL II,1638,38ff; LE BOEUFFLE 1987,67-70. On astronomy in BC cf. also BEAUJEU 1979.

Boreas: the northern wind is mentioned 23 times in BC. It was generally considered violent; cf. RE 3,721,40ff. For the combination of north and south wind, cf. 523.

70 **effusis...imbribus**: the hyperbaton may suggest the intensity and duration of the rains. The entire line is quoted by Lactant. on Stat. Theb.4,709.

Libye: the common name for Africa (40 times in BC). Lucan uses *Africa* only 7 times, in all cases nom.sg.. The Greek name is, as often, preferred[1]; cf. HOUSMAN 1910; Barratt on 5,71-2. Most MSS (except for GV) have the wrong reading *Lybiae* here.

annum: 'the year's produce, crops, harvest, fruits' (OLD s.v. 8, quoting Grat. 492

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1. Cf. further expressions like *Libycis...arvis* 4,582; *terrae Libyssae* 9,666.

[1]; Stat. Silv 3,2,22, Tac. Ag.31,2). For this sense cf further 3,452; 9,437; V.Fl. 5,422, Stat. Theb.2,407; 4,710; 9,406; Tac. Ger.14. HASKINS compares the use of *autumnus* for 'fruit' as in Ov. Met.9,92.

71-97 Caesar heads for Rome

(1) Summary:
Caesar marches towards Rome. The poet complains: if Caesar had merely conquered foreign tribes, he would have had a great triumph; now he is welcomed in silence and fear, and Caesar perversely rejoices in this. After passing through Latium, Caesar approaches the gates of Rome, and in a speech full of scorn he addresses the town.
(2) Structure:
This second scene of the Caesar-block 46-168 comes after the connecting scene 46-70, and is more stationary in character, though it tells of Caesar's march to Rome. The next section will have an even more stationary character.

The scene consists of three distinct parts. After one sentence the poet immediately elaborates on the consequences of Caesar's march to his fatherland: he pictures how this march would have looked like if Caesar had behaved like a good Roman general. In fact he even rejoices in the people's fear (71-83). In the middle of the scene we get a few glimpses of Caesar's march through Latium (84-89). The third part is formed by a speech Caesar deliveres to the personified town (90-97).
(3) Historical material·
In this scene not the course of events is at the centre but mainly pathos It has a stationary character, and uses literary and rhetorical models rather than historical material Even the places in Latium which are mentioned serve a rhetorical aim. In fact there is nothing historical about the section save the bare fact of Caesar marching to Rome. This fact is briefly mentioned in most historical sources (Caes. Civ.1,32 (*milites in proxima municipia deducit; ipse ad urbem proficiscitur*); D.C. 41,15,1-2; Plu. Caes.35,3, Plu. Pomp.42,1[2], Vell. 2,50,1; Flor. Epit 2,13,21; Eutrop. 6,20,1. Lucan however does not relate a neutral fact, but puts Caesar in an unfavourable light; see below and on 73.
(4) Literary material:
The section contains several enumerations: the objects and persons in Caesar's imaginary triumph (76-8); places in Latium (84-7), and eastern enemies of Rome (93-5). In fact, these enumerations are minor examples of literary catalogues. Lucan frequently uses this technique; see on 3,169-297. In addition it contains yet another small speech; cf. on 12ff and 38ff.

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[1] As this poet was a contemporary of Ovid, ROBBERT 1917,62-3 cannot be right in arguing Lucan was the first to use this metaphor of *annus*

[2] In his life of Pompey, Plutarch places Caesar's march to Rome and the Metellus episode before events in Brundisium (Pomp 42,2)

Lucan's Caesar bears the traits of a tyrant and of a political subversive, but also those of a military enemy (cf. on 46-70). The last aspect becomes particularly clear in this section. Like Hannibal had done before, he marches to Rome. Lucan suggests that he came with evil intentions, accompanied by large troops (both notions are absent from the historical sources listed above). He has no triumph, like a good Roman general would have had. He rushes through the venerable places of Latium, and finally comes in sight of Rome. Varying the well known dictum on Hannibal we might label the section as *Caesar ante portas*. His speech is mainly concerned with possible foreign threats, with which he is thus associated himself even more strongly. In many other places in BC Caesar will be compared to Hannibal; cf. on 299.

The section bears resemblances to 2,439-46, in which Caesar equally marches through Italy. His impetuous energy and joy in meeting with resistance is especially noted there (2,439-445). Its end *concessa pudet ire via civemque videri* (2,446) seems to be in contrast with his present wish to appear peaceful (72), but in fact this is just a shift in policy for the moment. Moreover, Caesar does not behave here like a citizen, but like an enemy. The following lines, 2,447ff, show the fear Caesar inspired to many cities; cf. on 80.

In BC 5,381ff he marches to Rome for the third time, a parallel noted by several scholars; cf. MENZ 1952,139-142; SCHÖNBERGER 1968,56-7; AHL 1976,204-5. In BC 5 even the itinerary is the same, in the opposite direction (from Spain via Rome to Brundisium); the speed is excessive (from Rome to Brundisium in two lines, 5,405-7); the motif of fear returns (5,381); there is no real resistance (382ff) and Roman traditions are perverted (392ff). But Lucan has also taken care to make the scene in BC 5 different: there he complains about servility of the people to Caesar(s), and elaborates on Caesar's election fraud.

A prefiguration of the scene may be seen in 2,94-100, where Marius takes Rome; cf. SCHRIJVERS 1988,344.

(5) Imitations:

Robert Garnier in his tragedy *Cornélie* (1574) has been inspired by several elements from Lucan's third book, i.a. the geographical details in 76-8 and of elements of Caesar's speech 91-97; cf. BAILBE 1980,80-4.

71 **duci**: a dativus auctoris. From Livy onward, its use is extended, probably due to Greek influence. Ovid shows most cases, but even in Vergil it is not uncommon; cf. LHS II,96-8; further OBERMEIER 1886,44-5, who gives all cases in BC.

agmina: the historical sources (quoted above) do not really speak about Caesar taking troops with him, but Lucan develops every possible negative aspect of Caesar. In 5,381 Caesar returns to Rome once again, but then *sine milite*. Rome by then has learned how to be slavish, Lucan bitterly adds.

victor: MSS waver between *victor* and *ductor* (the first in Z^2ABRQVEW; the latter in MZGUPJ; cf. GOTOFF 1971,116), but all modern editors read *victor*. The variant reading may have arisen from the foregoing *duci*, equally referring to Caesar.

With the text as it is generally accepted, Caesar is first designated as *dux*, as in 48. Then he is more specifically called *victor*, which takes up 51. Here again it

leaves no doubt in the reader's mind about the outcome of the final battle, or about the events in the following section. Finally, Lucan carefully uses these and other words to create a military atmosphere at variance with Caesar's plans; see below on 73 *tecta petit patriae*.

72 **trahens**: Lucan prefers words expressing great energy. With *agmina* e.g. the strong *rapere*, cf. 299 *agmine...rapto*; 1,228 *rapit agmina ductor*; 4,717). Here *trahere* does not imply a slow pace, but merely concentrates on the aspect of the forces being lead somewhere; cf. 2,606; Verg. A.12,812.

pacis... vultum: Lucan has already mentioned Caesar's peace plan in 53. In 143 he will allude to it again. In each case Caesar is manifestly insincere; cf. MENZ 1952,90-1. For *vultus* as 'outward appearance' cf. Verg. A.5,848 *salis placidi vultum*; Aetna 526; Ov. Met.1,6. Cf also the use of *frons* in 9,207; 739-40; 1063; 1106-7; and *facies* in 76 and 653.

73 **tecta petit patriae**: Lucan deliberately uses a number of words to create a military atmosphere, whereas the historical sources generally limit themselves to a neutral remark on Caesar's return to Rome. *Dux*, *victor*, *agmina trahere*, and, most of all, *tecta petit patriae* in 73 all underline Caesar's behaviour as a military enemy of Rome, operating with large troops, cf. above on 71-97. For the phrase cf. 5,381 *petit...Romam*. Lucan's line recalls Cic. Att.7,13,1 *quid est quod ab eo non metuas, qui illa templa et tecta non patriam sed praedam putet?*

pro...: a subjective exclamation on the part of the poet. Features like paradoxes and exclamations show the rhetorical, pathetic character of BC. Several of them appear in a context of hate for tyrants: of Marius in 2,98-100; 134-5; of Caesar in 2,517-21; 544; 3,392-4; 5,57-64. For some other types see on 241 and 756. On this rhetorical device cf. KLIEN 1946,105-108; VIANSINO 1974,106n1. *Pro* regularly introduces exclamations, and invariably expresses astonishment and regret. In BC it is used 14 times; e.g. 2,98; 3,241; 4,96. The beginning of the exclamation is quoted by Prisc. GLK 3,91,17.

si remeasset - urbem: the civil war will not lead to triumphs, as Lucan has already pointed out in 1,12 *bella gen placuit nullos habitura triumphos?*[1] Now, he describes what Caesar's triumph might have looked like, if he had limited himself to normal foreign wars. An impossible wish like this allows the poet to express indirect, pathetic judgments; cf. 2,552-4; 6,299-313; 7,92-4 (in words spoken by Pompey)[2]. In the course of these lines Lucan inevitably acknowledges Caesar's military achievements in Gaul, as several scholars have noted (MENZ 1952,91; BRISSET 1964,93). However, Lucan's 'admiration' of Caesar is very limited, because it is included in a rhetorical exclamation.

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[1] Lucan's Caesar feels quite sure about his future triumphs During the mutiny of his soldiers he says *cernetis nostros iam plebs Romana triumphos* 5,334

[2] Cf also Sil 6,296-8 Similar, though not in the grammatical form of irrealis or potentialis, are sentences which anticipate to a possible end of bloodshed 4,187-8, 5,239-40; 299, 5,469-71, see further SCHREMPP 1964,23wn24, who does not mention the present text

Remeare is used of 'coming back in victory or triumph' in 1,286; 2,553; 3,702; 5,237; 7,256; cf. further Verg. A.2,95; V.Fl. 4,589; Sil. 3,434; Stat. Theb.12,164. The line as a whole resembles 1,690 *patriae sedes remeamus in urbis*, but the context is different.

In: several younger MSS (Z^2ABRE according to GOTOFF 1971,116; 157) read *ad*, but *in* is generally accepted.

74 **Gallorum... populis**: cf. 446; 1,309. The *Galli* are mentioned 10 times in BC (their land, *Gallia*, is mentioned in line 77, and in four other places). They are not to be confused with the priests of Cybele in 1,567.

Arcto: to Lucan *Arctos* (with adjective *Arctous*), 'the North', includes the Gauls, as may be seen in 89; 1,481-2; 5,268; 6,661 *Arctoas domui gentes* (Caesar is speaking). In the following lines references are to Gaul and Britain, not to Germania.

subacta: ablative, to be taken with the female *Arcto*.

75 **quam seriem - facies**: 'what a line of exploits, what scenes of war he might have sent before him in long procession (...)!' (DUFF). *Seriem rerum* is a 'Reihe von Erfolgen' LUCK; 'Tatenliste' EHLERS. In 5,179 it is used in a more general sense. For *facies* cf. on 72 and 652.

76 **potuit**: with the force of an conj.plusquamperf. For this regular expression of an irrealis with *posse* cf. LHS II,327-8. Examples in BC: 597; further e.g. 2,616-7; 8,155.

ut vincula - daret: 'how would he then show his conquest of Rhine and Ocean...'. Many translators remain too vague[1]. *Ut* is exclamatory (only here in BC); see below on 77 *et*. *Vincula dare* 'to put chains on' is very concise for 'to show symbolically the conquest of'[2]. In a general's triumphal procession pictures or statues of conquered towns and rivers were carried; cf. Plin. Nat.36-7; Ov. Pont.3,4,105-8. In the *Aeneid* we may see how the Romans pictured a river god: normally he carries an urn with water pouring from it (Verg. A.7,792); he has horns on his head (A.8,77) and he is usually clad in flowing garments draped with seaweed and water plants (A.8,31-34); cf. FOLSE 1936,56wn16-17; on rivers in BC see in general MENDELL 1941.

Ancient scholia (Comm.Bern., and ADRV) thought *Rheno* and *Oceano* (77) were symbols for the peoples and lands living near them, in this case Gaul and Britain. But actually Lucan may allude to concrete facts concerning these waters. Caesar's bridge over the Rhine may be hinted at; cf. Caes. Gal.4,17 (cf. also 6,9); cf. DUFF a.l.; LUCK (p.515). BORSZAK 1980,70 even ventured the thought that Lucan compares Caesar with Xerxes and his sacrilegious bridge over the Hellespont, as he already explicitly did in 2,672-7; see also on 284. With Oceanus, Lucan hints at Caesar's expeditions to Britain (Caes. Gal.4,20-5,23). Britain and Oceanus are

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1. LUCK is vague by remaining close to the text: 'Hätte er doch den Rhein und den Ozean in Fesseln gelegt'. But such a translation does not make clear that Lucan pictures what the triumph would have looked like.

2. FRANCKEN aptly explains *daret* as 'in imagine pompae'. Cf. also HASKINS' note a.l.. BOURGERY's remark does not clarify the syntax of the sentence: we should not construct '(he would show) how...', but 'how would he (show)...'.

similarly connected in 2,570-2 and 4,134-5. For Oceanus see also on 279.

77 **celsos**: 'high, lofty', but with the secondary meaning 'proud, confident'. In the Aeneid it is often used of ships; e.g. Verg. A.1,183; 2,375; 3,527; 4,397; 554; in BC thus in 3,535 and 8,564. Here it is used of the triumphal chariot.

celsos et - ut flavis - Britannis: '...and how would noble Gallia follow his high chariot, together with fair-haired Britons!' All MSS read *celsos ut* and *et flavis*, but in this position *et* would establish a very awkward link between *nobilis* and *mixta*. HOUSMAN with much hesitation suggested *et...ut*, a conjecture finally adopted into the text by SHACKLETON BAILEY. *Gallia* is abstractum pro concreto for 'Gauls'.

78 **nobilis**: to be taken with *Gallia*, not with *currus*, which have already been called *celsos*.

flavis: the word denotes not 'yellow', 'blond', but some reddish colour, equivalent to *rutilus*. Other peoples in the North are given this epithet as well: cf. 1,402 *Ruteni*; 2,51 *Suebi*. Some of Cleopatra's servants have hair of this colour (10,129-31).

sequeretur: in general, prisoners seem to have preceded a triumphant's chariot; cf. *praemittere* 75; Cic. Ver.5,67; Aug. Anc.4; Liv. 3,29,4; Ov. Pont.2,8,39-40; Tr.4,2,22. But HOUSMAN adduces Sen. Tro.150-6, esp. 154 *currusque sequens*. Scholia in aADRV (according to CAVAJONI 1979,165) on Lucan's verse say 'victi enim triumphantium currus sequebantur'. It is equally possible to interpret *sequi* rather vaguely as 'to accompany, to escort' (cf. OLD s.v. 11).

79 **perdidit - triumphum**: 'What a triumph he lost by conquering more!' An ingenious paradox, built upon antithesis, provides the finishing touch of the poetic fantasy. BONNER 1966,263 compares Sen. Suas.1,3 *orbem, quem non novi, quaero, quem vici relinquo*. The theme of 'success leading to some form of destruction' dates back to the archaic Greek period, and flourishes in Latin literature as well; see DUTOIT 1936. Lucan uses it in relation to the Roman state, as in 1,70-82, but also of individuals, as here and 8,817.

perdidit: Lucan does not suggest that Caesar did not have a triumph at all, as GRAVES 1956,69n1 understands it. Caesar has merely lost the chance to have a triumph as impressive and glorious as this one (*qualem*). For *triumphus* cf. on 20. The thought and syntax of the section 73-9 are adopted with variations in the verses which concludes the aristeia of Scaeva in 6,257-62, esp. 260-1 *non tu bellorum spoliis ornare Tonantis / templa potes, non tu laetis ululare triumphis*.

In Chaucer's *Canterbury tales* a curious reference to Lucan's text is made in the 'Man of Law's tale' 400-403, mentioning 'the triumphe of Julius, / of which that Lucan maketh swich a boost'. SHANNON 1919 explained this as careless reading of Lucan, but HINTON 1981 has shown that Chaucer may have used contemporary MSS which said Caesar did in fact have a triumph over Pompey.

vincendo plura: i.e. Italy, Rome, and the Pompeian party. LUCK's translation of *vincendo plura* 'nur weil er noch größere Siege begehrte' is wrong.

80 **non illum...**: a short 'Negationsantithese', for which see on 49.

laetis...coetibus: to be taken with *urbes...videre*. The cities at the Via Appia, on which Caesar went to Rome, normally would have formed assemblies to congratulate him. Once more Lucan hints at what a real triumph would have looked like.

vadentem: *vadere* belongs to the highest style in poetry; cf. Norden on Verg. A.6,262. In BC we find 11 instances of the word, e.g. 2,730; 5,325; 804.

82 **gaudet**: after elaborate sentences on the dumb fear of the people (cf. 1,257-61) and the missing assemblies and congratulations, it comes as a surprise that Caesar actually feels joy over this. However, it agrees with Caesar's general character in BC. The motif is elaborated in a two line sententia concluding the section 71-83. Here Lucan's Caesar seems very much unlike the historical Caesar, who always strived after popularity[1]. In addition there seems to be an inconsistency with lines 52ff, where Caesar's measures were at least partly motivated by a desire to gain support among the people. Here Caesar is a cruel tyrant and a foreign enemy in all respects[2]. The paradox here reminds of the famous dictum in Acc. Trag.168 W: *oderint dum metuant*; cf. also Sen. Ben.1,13,3 *terrori esse cunctis mortalibus* (on Alexander). For Caesar's joy cf. on 360.

83 **et se non**: on sequences of monosyllaba, cf. on 276.

non... amari: by contrast, Pompey wishes to be loved and is loved: cf. 8,276; 634-5; further 7,726-7. His joy is of a different nature than Caesar's too, cf. 8,128-9.

84 **iamque et...**: in this second part of the scene 71-97, lines 84-9, Caesar approaches Rome along the Via Appia, and passes various venerable sites in Latium. These are linked by repeated *qua...*; as in 207-10; 230-5; further 1,16-7; 432-4; 5,232-4; 8,227; 10,210-1 a.o.. His constant march is expressed even in the rhythm of the first few lines, which are all filled up by a sentence[3]. Descriptions of itineraries are by no means rare: cf. 8,243-62; 9,36-50; 954-63; cf. GASSNER 1972,175-6.

However, here the function seems not merely ornamental, or suggestive of cosmic dimensions. After again overcoming resistance (see below) Caesar rushes through Latium, rapidly passing traditional Latin cult places. Vergil likes to mention Latin cult places and Italian sanctuaries; cf. VAN WEES 1970,132. But here the names underline Caesar's impiety and energy. They are mentioned to shed a grim light upon him: he is portrayed as an enemy of Rome and of her past[4]. For Caesar as enemy cf. above on 46-70. We need not look for a historical source for the realia here, as they belong to common Roman knowledge.

praecipitis: *praeceps* is often said of Caesar himself, cf. above on 51. Here it means no more than 'steep'.

superaverat: in 1,183 Caesar had crossed the Alps: *superaverat Alpes* as if he were a second Hannibal (in 3,299 he will pass them again). The resistance he meets

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1. App. BC 2,41 tells that Caesar even took measures in Rome to counter the widespread fear.

2. MCCLOSKEY 1968,83 quotes lines 82-3 and thinks Caesar is styled here as a Hellenistic potentate. As such he would be a prototype of Nero. Thus a link would be established between Nero and Ptolemy. The author piles one hypothesis upon another, with mere speculation as a result.

3. In 9,916-21 the same technique is used to suggest the charm of some magic ingredients.

4. Caesar does not challenge the Gods here, as has been stated recently by HENDERSON 1987,144-6. Regrettably, his article teems with implausible speculations, as far as it can be understood at all.

with invariably clarifies an aspect of his own nature. Here the word hints at his behaving like an enemy of Rome.

Anxuris: in Anxur, the later Terracina, stood a temple of Juppiter Anxur. In the *Aeneid* it occurs (with the name of Juppiter) in 7,799. It was situated on top of steep rocks; cf. Hor. S.1,5,26 *impositum saxis late candentibus Anxur*; Stat. Silv.1,3,86-7 *arcesque superbae / Anxyris*; Sil. 4,532; 8,390. *Anxuris arces* is a circumlocution of a geographical name, as in 93 (*Eous in oras*) and 295. This type of name is common in Vergil; cf. VAN WEES 1970,33-37.

85 **Pomptinas...paludes**: various attempts at draining the Pomptine marshes were made in antiquity, but this finally succeeded only in the 20th. century. Thus the name must have sounded impressive, because of the tremendous forces of nature[1] which Caesar opposes. Secondly, perhaps Lucan mentions them simply as a contrast with hills and mountains. Finally, they may function as a symbol of Caesar's control over Italy: in 67 B.C. Caesar in his function of *curator Viae Appiae* had spent huge sums to improve the road; cf. Plu. Caes.5,9. As a result the marshes did not further expand for some time, and the road could be used again; shortly before his death he had plans to drain the Pomptine marshes completely (Plu. Caes. 58,9; Suet. Jul.44,3); for the whole subject cf. RE Suppl.8,1956,1135-1241, esp. 1182-3[2].

via...uda: Lucan seems to mean not the *Via Appia* but a drain channel along the road, the *Fossa Cethegi*, although *uda* 'wet, muddy' as such might also apply to the road. Often travellers seem to have preferred the channel to the road itself; cf. CHEVALLIER 1972,18n2. In RE Suppl.8,1956,1182,49ff Lucan's text is quoted as referring to the channel, which was reconstructed or perhaps constructed by Caesar himself. Strictly speaking, Lucan does not say whether Caesar actually used the road or the channel. He merely indicates the channel as one of the places where Caesar passed. For photographs of the Via Appia cf. CASTAGNOLI 1956; for Roman technology of roads FORBES 1934,115-68.

86 **qua sublime - Dianae**: 'where a grove looms high (the sanctuary of Scythian Diana), and where the Roman consuls with their lictors ascend to high Alba'. After the *arces* follow a marsh, a wood with a temple, and an ascending road: this amounts to a complete panorama of the landscape along the Via Appia within five lines.

It is sometimes thought that lines 86-7 refer to just one place; cf. BOURGERY, EHLERS and LUCK; most others think they are two[3]. By itself the lines may well refer to one area: Aricia, the location of the temple of Diana, lies close to Alba Longa. Nonetheless, it is their distance which is rhetorically functional here: Caesar's

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1 In Lucan's Italy, wild nature dominates, cf 2,392-438, and 5,375-80. Cf further on 5.

2. Surely the *Pomptine paludes* have nothing to do with either *Pompey* or a general's *paludamentum*, two fantasies of HENDERSON 1987,145.

3. RUTZ 1984,316 records a conjecture by Luigi Castiglioni: *Scythicae sua regna*, but that seems akward Latin If conjecture were necessary, we might perhaps adopt the reading *quae*, adopted by several MSS (MZABR), cf GOTOFF 1971,157

speed and energy are underlined by the movements he is said to make passing from spot to spot.

sublime nemus: the wood is situated high up on a hill. Lucan refers to the sacred woods near Aricia, where a statue of Diana, allegedly brought from Tauris Scythia by Orestes after murdering Thoas, was kept. Its priest was called *rex nemorensis*. In ancient times he was killed by his successor; cf. Suet. Cal.35,3; V.Fl. 2,305; Serv.on Verg. A.6,136; Ov. Fast.3,271-2; RE 16,2,2389,19ff. Perhaps this cruel ritual caused the identification with Artemis of Tauris. Aricia is mentioned in 6,75-6 *Mycenaeae... sacrata Dianae / ... ab excelsa nemoralis Aricia*; Verg. A.7,762; for Artemis of Tauris cf. 1,446 and an allusion in 7,777.

Generally speaking, *nemus* is used when some stress is laid upon the beauty of a wood; *lucus* when the sacral aspect is the most important (cf. Serv.on Verg. A.1,314); but *nemus* can be a wood consecrated to a deity as well: cf. Verg. A.7,759; Ecl.6,56; Tac. Hist.4,14; cf. SCHÖNBECK 1962,52n3; OLD s.v. *nemus* 2.

Scythicae - Dianae: in the sense 'territory, domain', as in 2,424; 4,590; 5,226; 9,321; cf. OLD s.v. 6. For the line cf. Ov. Met.14,331 *quaeque colunt Scythicae stagnum nemorale Dianae*.

87 **quaque iter est...**: at the annual *Feriae Latinae*, the Roman consuls with their lictors, and all other magistrates, ascended to the temple of Juppiter Latiaris near Alba Longa; cf. LATTE 1960,144-6; SCULLARD 1981,111-5. Lucan speaks several times about this old Roman ritual, but invariably in a negative context: cf. 1,550-2 (an omen); 5,400-2 (the Latin festival held by Caesar) and 7,394-6 (decay of religious rites); cf. SCHÖNBERGER 1968,87.

Latiis...fascibus: the Roman consuls, as in 7,428 *Latios...fasces*. For *fasces* in this concrete sense cf. Stat. Silv.1,2,233; 4,1,31-2.

88 **excelsa de rupe**: LUCK (p.515) thinks Caesar sees Rome from Aricia. But Lucan probably means yet another spot; cf. my note on 86 *qua*.... After some events in the preceding lines, the action comes to a standstill. We get an image of *Caesar ante portas*, the victorious general approaching a town he intends to conquer. Some scholars have seen a parallel in Petr. 122,153-4 where Caesar addresses the Gods while he *summo de vertice montis / Hesperiae campos late prospexit*; but the image of a general viewing the terrain is conventional, cf. GEORGE 1974,127[1].

89 **Arctoi**: cf. on 74 *Arcto*.

tempore belli: a conventional ending; cf. Ov. Met.13,206; 15,260; V.Fl. 2,139; 6,312; Stat. Theb.3,402; cf. SCHUMANN 1983, s.v.. In BC it occurs also in 5,409; 7,72; 9,151 (with *toto*, as here).

90 **miratus**: the word seems to imply genuine patriotic feeling and praise of Rome, as do the words of the speech (cf. *deum sedes* 91). But there is no reason to assume an inconsistency here. We must not forget that Caesar in Lucan's view is not sincere (52-8; 72). Perhaps more importantly, if the admiration and praise are real, they are applied to *sua Roma* (see below), and thus express arrogance rather than patriotism. Rhetorically, Caesar's magnification of Rome shows contempt for those who left it.

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1. For the present text GEORGE compares Verg. A.1,419-20.

On the motif of *laudes Romae*, which was to become increasingly important in Latin literature, cf. Doblhofer on Rut.Nam. 1,47-166. In Lucan's work there is no room for unequivocal praise of Rome.

suae...Romae: translations of BOURGERY ('de sa chère Rome'), DUFF ('Rome, his mother city') and LUCK ('seine Vaterstadt Rom') seem to miss the point. Caesar does not regard Rome merely as his native town, but as his private possession, as 'his'. That is the reason why he can freely admire it.

Caesar may found his claim either on his military achievements, but, more likely, on his ancestry. As a member of the *Iulii*, Rome's 'destroyer' is directly connected to Aeneas, the founder of Rome. This underlying irony and contrast to the *Aeneid* is typical of BC; cf. esp.AHL 1976,209-22; NARDUCCI 1985,1558-1663. Caesar regards himself as Aeneas' successor: cf. 1,196-7 *Phrygiique penates / gentis Iuleae* and 9,991 *Aeneaeque mei* (both quotations are from prayers by Caesar). Cf. also Petr. 122,160 *urbe mea*; 166 *mea Roma* (both from a speech by Caesar).

fatur: a simple introduction to the speech; cf. on 13 *inquit*. In line 97 the same word is repeated.

moenia Romae: Rome at the time only possessed the Servian walls, built after the Gaulish attack in 386 B.C.. They had been modified several times (the last time in 87 B.C. when the city had been threatened by Marius), but were probably already decaying; cf. TODD 1978,11-20, esp.17-20. However, *moenia* is probably used here in a more general way, as a symbol for a city as a whole, as in 1,468; 586; 2,99; a.o.. It is significant that Lucan's Pompey did not dare to stay a single night in Rome when Caesar entered Italy: *nox una tuis non credita muris* 1,520.

The combination *moenia Romae* will return as early as line 99, and in 298. For the ending cf. Verg. A.1,7; Sil. 1,389 (and no less than 15 other places in Silius); Stat. Silv.1,2,191; 4,4,14; 5,2,169; cf. SCHUMANN 1983, s.v.. Circumlocution with *moenia* for names of cities is common in Vergil, cf. A. 1,258 *Lavini*; 5,633 *Troiae* 7,740 *Abellae*; 10,167 *Clusi*.

DUFF seems to interpret *moenia* as object of *fatur*, but it must be taken with

91 **tene...**: in the third part of the section 71-97 Caesar addresses Rome. He expresses amazement that she is deserted by the Pompeians without a fight, and says that Rome is lucky that no foreign tribes have entered Latium. The speech is not directed to living persons, but, pathetically, to a personified Roma. The speech brings out his self-pride (cf. on 90) and hypocrisy. On the speech cf. FAUST 1908,47; RUTZ 1950,163-4; MENZ 1952,92; TASLER 1971,23-24. For the apostrophe cf. below on 96.

non ullo Marte: BOURGERY's translation 'sous la contrainte de Mars' is manifestly wrong. Not surprisingly, *Mars* is very frequent in BC, used as metonymy for 'war' or 'fight'. For the thought cf. Lucan's exclamation in 1,519-20 *tu tantum audito bellorum nomine, Roma, / desereris*.

92 **deseruere**: here Caesar reproaches the Pompeians with their cowardly behaviour. But if necessary, he is just as ready to blame them for the opposite, ferocity and cruelty; cf. 1,325-35; 7,315-7.

pro - urbe: 'for what city will men fight?', that is: if not for Rome?

93 **di melius**: sc. *fecerunt* or *dederunt* (or another verb in perfect tense), an exclamation of thanksgiving at the averting of an evil; cf. OLD s.v. *melius* 7c. We may translate 'thank the Gods!'. Lucan also uses the expression in 2,537. Cf. further Prop. 4,6,65; Ov. Am.2,7,19; Ars.2,388; Rem.439; Ep.17,30; Met.9,497; Ib.23; V.Max. 6,1,ext.3; Sen. Con.10,praef.7; Sen. Ep.47,8; 98,5; Quint. Decl.321,13; (all cases in poetry appear at the beginning of the verse). Caesar's 'thanks' are not sincere (as e.g. KLIEN 1946,17 thinks) but a rhetoric pose. There is no inconsistency in his character here, as RUTZ 1950,163-4 thinks, contrasting i.a. 1,383-6.

Eous...furor: the phrase is still vague, but the following lines actually mention names of eastern and east European peoples not yet subdued by Rome. A similar text is 7,427ff (naming India, Dahae, Parths, Germans and Scythians), where this national failure is blamed on the civil war. These and other passages in Lucan[1] are exceptional in Latin poetry, which tends to elaborate only Roman conquests; cf. CHRIST 1938,41.

Eous has a long initial *e*, as in 186; 229 and 295. With short *e* it occurs in e.g. 4,66; 352; 5,71; 6,52, cf. BARRATT on 5,71-2. The location of the word immediately after *Latias* is surely intentional.

94 **furor**: commonly used in Lucan for 'insanity of civil war' or the resulting deeds or behaviour. Cf. 1,8; 96; 106; 5,36; 206; a.o.; in BC 3 it occurs in 249 (*furor...Romanus*); 303; 315; 671; cf. JAL 1963,421-2; in a broader context: MICHEL 1981; GLAESSER 1984[2]. It is surely ironical that Caesar, the very incarnation of *furor* (cf. on 303), is talking about *furor* of eastern tribes.

incubuit: 'pressed its attack on'; cf. OLD s.v. *incumbere* 5.

nec iuncto - admixtus: 'nor the rapid Sarmatians together with Pannonians and the Getae along with the Daci'. The speaker heaps name upon name, which is suggestive of the military threat. The first part of the sentence is quoted by Prisc. GLK 2,286,8, with the reading *et*, which is not attested to in the extant Lucanean MSS.

Sarmata: the Sarmatians are a nomadic tribe affiliated to the Scythians, living east of the Tanais, the present Ukraine. They were subjected by Rome in the first century B.C.. They are the first in a long list of barbaric nations mentioned in BC 3. Such foreign tribes are often characterised by one single trait, here *velox*; cf. 1,336; 2,549; 590-1 a.o.; cf. DAUGE 1981,192; Thomas on Verg. G.2,115. The Sarmatians are also mentioned in 270; 1,430; and *Sarmaticus* occurs in 201 and 282; 7,430 and 8,369.

95 **Pannonio**: Pannonia is the land corresponding to present day Hungary, annexated by Tiberius in 9 B.C.. It is not mentioned elsewhere in BC.

Dacisque - admixtus: the Daci and Getae lived in the North of Thrace, and were

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1. Cfr further lists of Roman enemies, as in 1,254-6 and 2,48-56, and explicit references to places where Rome suffered defeats, as in 2,46; 7,408-11 and 7,800.

2. During the Republican period *furor* was also used as a political term by the *optimates* denoting agitation by *populares*; cf. WEISCHE 1966,23-28. In BC this nuance seems to have been lost.

two tribes of one people. They are also mentioned together in 2,54, where an anonymous speaker prefers a foreign attack of such tribes to a civil war. Here Caesar expresses the opposite view. As often with names there is considerable confusion in the MSS about the precise spelling of the name; cf. GOTOFF 1971,116[1]. None of the three names in this line will return in the catalogue in 169ff.

96 **pavidum**: Lucan is fond of *pavor* and *pavere*, whereas Vergil tended to avoid these words; cf. MACKAY 1961,312-3; in BC 3: 300; 349; 424; 438. Pompey is qualified *pavidus* in 7,52 too.

tibi, Roma: already in 91 Caesar had addressed Rome. Here the apostrophe is even clearer. Rome is apostrophized repeatedly by various persons, including the poet himself; cf. on 159. It is astonishing that VIANSINO 1974,52-3 declares that such apostrophes to Rome are never held by Caesar, which is manifestly the case here.

pepercit: for *parcere* used in connection with *Fortuna*: cf. 2,518; 8,600-1; 10,23; for *Fortuna pepercit* as ending: cf. 10,23; Enn. Ann.188 Sk. (the present text is not mentioned in SCHUMANN 1983, s.v.).

97 **quod...fuit**: a strong paradox concludes Caesar's speech: with her weak leader, Rome should be glad that she is engaged in 'merely' a civil war and not in a foreign war! As in 94, there is irony here: Caesar, the cause of destruction for Rome, talks about the averted danger of destruction by others. Several times in BC we find the opposite idea that civil war is worse than foreign attacks on Rome; cf. 2,47-56; 7,408-9.

For *fuit*, HÅKANSON 1979,39 conjectures *fugit*, but this would entirely spoil the point. Emendation is not needed here, since the text makes excellent sense.

97-112 Caesar enters the terrified city and summons the Senate.

(1) Summary:

Rome is struck with terror as Caesar enters it. The Romans believe Caesar will do anything he pleases. Instead, in an illegal move Caesar summons the Senate. The meeting turns out to be a perversion of Roman political institutions.

(2) Structure:

This third scene of the Caesar block 46-168 functions as a complement to the preceding section which described Caesar's march towards Rome: he enters the town. Furthermore it paves the way for the most important scene, 112-153.

It consists of two clearly distinct parts: (i) 97-103, where the general terror of the Roman population is described; (ii) 103-112, which concentrate upon Caesar's summoning the Senate. Both parts are symmetrical: they start with a fact (97-8; 103-4), give significant details to suggest the tension in the air (98-102; 105-111) and end

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[1]. According to PICHON 1912,7-8, Lucan himself has confused the *Daci* with the *Dahi*, living near the Caspian sea, and the *Getes* with the *Massagetes*. However, the present text makes good sense.

with a paradox (103; 111-2)[1]. Cf. also MENZ 1952,92-3; NOWAK 1955,15-16; SYNDIKUS 1958,13 and 61-3; LEBEK 1976,196.

(3) Historical material:

As in the preceding scenes, some elements can be found in other sources, and some not: the fact of Rome's terror at Caesar's entering is confirmed by App. BC 2,41; D.C. 41,16,1,-17,1; Flor. Epit.2,13,21[2] (but cf. Plu. Caes.35,4, who says the town was calmer than Caesar had expected). Caesar's delivering a speech to the Senate is confirmed by Caes. Civ.1,32,2; D.C. 41,15,2; Vell. 2,50,1-2. However, Lucan adds picturesque details and paradoxes absent in other sources, and omits elements which do not suit his argument (e.g. Caesar's popularity, cf. App.; the conciliatory tone of Caesar's speech, cf. Caes.; Plu.; D.C.). In addition he casts a different light on the few real facts he does mention: Caesar enters Rome, but like an enemy. He is said to have summoned the Senate illegally, because he had no formal right to do so (cf. Cic. Att.10,1,2 *consessus senatorum, senatum enim non puto*; Fam.4,1,1 *in senatum sive potius in conventum senatorum*)[3]. For some other details cf. on 103-4. Cf. further BRISSET 1964,127-8.

(4) Literary material:

The motif of the *capta urbs* is clearly present here (cf. 99). For this traditional motif, used throughout antiquity, cf. especially PAUL 1982, who gives many examples, and KEITEL 1984 (on Tacitus). But Lucan has replaced the traditional elements of panic, screams, flight and wailing by grim silence and dumb fear. He concentrates upon just a few elements, such as *spargere deos*. In the end, he suggests that the city was actually not taken.

Related is the motif of pillage of Rome. Although Lucan suggests widespread fear of such pillage (cf. also 2,64-233), it did not actually take place. Caesar did not permit his soldiers to plunder the city, and they blamed him for this in 5,270 *cepimus expulso patriae cum tecta senatu / quos hominum vel quos licuit spoliare deorum?* (for their wish cf. also 7,752-60). But Lucan does not give credit to Caesar for this 'clemency'. In 5,305-9 his real motif emerges: if necessary he would have let them plunder the whole town, but he wished to bring them to more and worse deeds: cf. also Van Amerongen on 5,270. In Lucan's eyes, Caesar actually 'sacks' the city in 3,154ff.

The motif of fear occurs throughout BC (cf. on 35): Caesar inspires fear wherever he goes, notably in the first three books: cf. 1,257-61; 469-98; 2,67; 453-61; 3,298; further 5,364-5; 381; 662. Fear of foreign invaders played an important

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1. LEBEK 1976,196 discerns a threefold structure, isolating 109-12 (submission of the Senate) from 103-9 (the Senate summoned) It seems better to regard the verses 109-12 as details on the Senate's gathering, preparing the final paradox.

2 Florus says Caesar had himself elected consul. Lucan locates this event much later, during Caesar's next visit to Rome, in 5,374-402.

3. According to Dio the tribunes Antonius and Longinus summoned the Senate. Caes. Civ 1,32 remains vague: *coacto senatu iniurias inimicorum commemorat.*

role in Republican and even Imperial Rome; cf. BELLEN 1985; for Caesar compared to barbaric invaders, cf. on 46-70; 71-97; 154; 299. For dumb, silent fear cf. 1,257-61; 2,20-8. The present description of fear in Rome is consciously echoed in Lentulus' speech in 5,17-47, esp. 19; 30-3.

A fascinating contrast to the terrified Rome will be the proud Massilia, later in book 3; cf. on 372-3 *urbem...haud trepidam*. A contrast to Caesar's behaviour may be found in 6,316-29, where Pompey refuses to march to Rome, as his generals recommend. An intimate link exists between the lines of the Senate (103-112) and the gathering of the Senate in Thessaly, 5,1ff. Both scenes are compared in Appendix C of Van Amerongen's commentary on BC 5; cf. also SCHÖNBERGER 1968,64-5.

98 **attonitam**: a strong word which can have connotations of religious awe or inner agitation. It is widely used in Latin poetry (Vergil has 10 cases; Ovid 42; Seneca's tragedies including the *Octavia* 26); cf. PASIANI 1967; Gagliardi on 7,134. Lucan has no less than 18 other cases (11 of which equally in first position; cf. 3,415 and 714). Here it seems to be used in a fairly normal context of general fear.

subit: Caesar entered Rome on March, 31th. At the same time his general Trebonius started moving his troops from the valley of the Saone towards Massilia and Spain, following Caesar's commands probably issued from Brundisium; cf. RAMBAUD 1976,854-5. For *subit* cf. 142; 475.

namque - deos: 'for it is believed that he will sack with dreary fire the walls of Rome, as if he had conquered it, and that he will scatter the Gods.'

ignibus atris: black is definitely Lucan's favourite colour. Lucan uses *ater* (16 times; cf. 3,409; 424), *niger* (15 times; cf. 3,411; 505), and a few others (not in BC 3). On the whole, Lucan makes much less use of colour than Vergil. Significantly, black and white occur frequently (for their combination, see esp. ad 399-452), as well as the red of blood, but other bright colours are rare (see on 238; 503; 542); cf. PATERNI 1987,108-110[1].

Ater has specific negative connotations of death and funerals; cf. TLL II,1021,50ff; OLD s.v. 5,7 and 8. For the ending *ignibus atris* cf. 2,299; Verg. A.11,186; Ov. Fast. 2,561; V.Fl. 2,236; further SCHUMANN 1983, s.v., who does not mention the present text, nor Sil. 17,180. Other combinations of *ater* with fire or funeral pyre: 2,301; Verg. A.4,384 *atris ignibus*; 8,198-9; Hor. Epod.5,82.

99 **creditur**: the use of *credere* in nom.cum inf. constructions occurs since Lucretius (cf. Lucr. 4,388; 852; 6,763); cf. TLL IV,1129,70ff; LHS II,365. In BC cf. 9,48 *in nulla non creditur esse carina*.

captae: the word clearly echoes the motif of the *urbs capta*, on which see above on 97-112. The complete phrase *urbs capta* is used by Lentulus in 5,19.

rapturus moenia: 'to sack the walls' cf. OLD s.v. *rapio* 3. For this combination cf. BC 2,653-4; further 2,99-100 and 6,35. For *moenia* see on 90.

100 **sparsurusque**: the exact sense of *spargere* here is not completely clear. The phrase may mean 'to destroy the statues of the Gods', by scattering them to pieces, 'to

1. Another, rather speculative study of colours in BC is TUCKER 1970.

throw the statues of the Gods out of the temples'. Most translators (as well as ancient scholia) follow this line of thought. But Lucan may also allude to the old Roman practice of *evocatio*: forcing the Gods of a conquered city to leave, thus threatening the wellbeing of its inhabitants. EHLERS' translation 'und seine Götter rings im Land verteilen' seems to point in this direction. In either case there is a marked contrast to pious Aeneas who carried his *penates* to Rome. On *spargere* cf. above on 64.

101 **velle...potest**: as NARDUCCI 1979,105-6 acutely remarks, this line takes its force from the normal phrase 'to be able to do whatever you want', which is the summum of what a tyrant may do. He compares Sen. Cl.1,8,5 *non enim, quantum fecerit, sed quantum facturus sit, cogitatur in eo, qui omnia potest*. The words *velle* and *posse* were to dominate in the ideology of absolute monarchism: cf. Plin. Pan.61,4 *ut enim felicitatis est, quantum velis, posse, sic magnitudinis velle, quantum possis*.

non...(non...): a short priamel: a list of examples (often with negations) concluded by a pointe. Lucan makes almost excessive use of this device. Cf. 93-7; 105-8; 402-3; 500-01; 567-69; 733-4; further e.g. 1,89-92; 93-5; 504-9; 4,378-81; 5,278-82; 10,17-9; 516-9; for this specific type, with negative examples completed asyndetically by the final element: cf. 5,278-82; 650-3. Cf. esp. KRÖHLING 1935; RACE 1982,esp.27; further NOWAK 1955,84-85 (in the broader concept of 'Negations-antithesen', on which see above on 49); BRAMBLE 1982,544.

omina fausta: 'good wishes, congratulations'. *Omen* does not always have a negative connotation. *Fausta*, adopted by i.a. LUCK and SHACKLETON BAILEY, is found in some younger MSS, whereas the older MSS read *festa*. Both make good sense, but the parallels for the former seem more certain: Acc. Trag.503W; Prop. 3,4,9; Ov. Met.6,448; 9,785; Trist.2,6; Tac. Ann.1,35,3; cf. TLL VI,388,57ff. In both cases, the verse ending has the rare form of a substantive and an adjective with the same ending, as in 1,284 *proelia pauca*; 671; 4,98 a.o.. Latin poets tend to avoid this pattern; cf. HARRISON 1990.

102 **fictas**: the motif of simulation (cf. the pleonastic *simulare*) belongs to the typology of the tyrant: it is the normal response of the people. Cf. also 9,1104-8; Sen. Thy 205-7; Phoen.654-9; Phaed.983-9.

103 **vix odisse vacat**: the last element is almost the opposite of the first and second: the Romans do not have the opportunity to feign congratulations or joy, nor even to show hate[1]. DUE 1962,100 remarks that here 'the gulf between flattery and hatred is a very narrow one'. For that matter, Caesar would not have minded if the people had hated him: cf. 82-3.

vacat: for the construction with an infinitive cf. 360; further e.g. 2,118-9; 377; 4,40; 7,137-8; Verg. A.1,373; 10,625.

Phoebea palatia: Lucan lets the meeting take place in the temple of Apollo on the Palatine. But Dio 41,15,2 says it took place outside the Pomerium. As the temple was dedicated not before 28 B.C. (Suet.Aug.29; Dio 53,1,3), Lucan's

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[1]. Earlier commentators on Lucan have not always understood the line of thought. Thus we find an incorrect explanation in the Comm.Bern.: 'a nulla parte odium vacat, odisse non desinunt'.

reference to it is manifestly an anachronism. In the early Imperial period the temple was often used for meetings of the Senate for the convenience of the emperor, as the temple formed part of a palace complex. Cf. THOMPSON 1981; TUCKER 1983,144; TALBERT 1984,117-118. Perhaps a political allusion is made to the servile Senate of the Imperial period, cf. GRENADE 1948,273n2. On the frequent name Phoebus see on 231. The plural *palatia* is also applied to a temple in Prop. 4,1,3 and Juv. 9,23.

104 **turba patrum**: here, the Senate obeys Caesar's commands, and is therefore negatively qualified as a *turba* of individual *patres*[1]. By contrast, when the senators who favour Pompey gather outside Rome in Epirus (5,7ff), they are said to be the real Senate (cf. Lentulus' words in 5,22 *nos esse senatum*). For the role of the Senate in BC, cf. VIANSINO 1974,106-9.

nullo - senatus: 'authority to summon the Senate was wanting' (DUFF). Actually, the summons had been legal, as they had been issued by the tribunes (cf. above on 97-112 (3)). For the phrase cf. Liv. 3,38,13, for the ending *iure senatus* cf. 4,801.

105 **e latebris - suis**: 'led out from their hiding-places'. This is Lucan's tendentious interpretation once again: the Senators are entirely passive. Contrast 5,8-9 where they are really 'summoned'. *Latebrae* has a short second syllable here, as in 2,153, 494 (with long second syllable, cf. 4,192, 5,500; a.o.). Lines 105-7 contain a large number of *s* consonants. The unpleasant sound may suggest an atmosphere of tension and oppression.

non consule - sedes: 'no sacred seat glittered with the presence of a consul'. The consuls Cornelius Lentulus and Claudius Marcellus were absent, as they had crossed the Adriatic to go to Pompey's camp, cf. Caes. Civ.1,14. For the short priamel (105-7) cf. above on 101, on these particular lines, see NOWAK 1955,16-17.

106 **fulserunt sedes**: consuls and other magistrates used to sit on a *sella curulis* (see below, 107). Such a *sella* could be adorned with ivory; hence *fulserunt* is to be taken literal above all; cf. TLL VI,1509,54ff. It is not necessary to apply the word in a metaphorical sense to the consul, which is what most translators (and TLL VI,1511,70) do. On the *sella curulis* cf. FOLSE 1936,59-60; RE II,A,1310ff. In the lofty line 5,16 Lentulus is represented as speaking *e celsa sublimis sede*.

potestas: abstractum pro concreto for a person having authority; cf. OLD s.v. 4; TLL X,2,2,318,30ff; Schmidt on 10,136.

107 **(non...) praetor adest**: according to BRISSET 1964,93 this is not true, as Lepidus was present in Rome at the time.

vacuae...curules: 'the empty *sellae curules* were removed'. This is no mere repetition of 105-6 *sacrae sedes*: though the seat received much attention there (cf. *fulserunt*), the point Lucan made was that the consuls were absent. Having added that no praetor was present either, he now focuses on the visual result in the meeting-place: the seats themselves had become pointless and were removed.

108 **omnia Caesar erat**: in this meeting, Caesar replaces all absent magistrates. But on a broader level the sententia may allude to the political situation during the Prin-

[1] Cf. Sil 4,33-8, where the Senate awaits Hannibal with pride and courage

cipate. HÄUSSLER 1978,93n81 thinks the bitter, sarcastic tone of lines 108-112 may be compared to that of Juvenal and Tacitus.

privatae: the adjective is used for persons who do not hold any public office. Lucan regularly exploits this idea for pathetic effects, especially in relation to Caesar; cf. 2,564; 4,188; 5,540 *indocilis privata loqui*; 668. In 104 Lucan said Caesar had no right to summon the Senate. FRANCKEN rightly remarks that he did at least have the right to address the Senate.

curia: not the building, but the institution, as in 1,267; 487; 5,11. Only in 5,32 the building is meant. Cf. TLL IV,1484,32ff.

109 **testis adest**: the Senate does not discuss affairs here, in Lucan's view, but is merely a witness to a private man's speech. A sharp contrast with the present line can be found in 5,10-1: there the 'real' Senate (equally called *curia*) is consulted properly on affairs of State (cf. also 5,46-7).

sedere patres...: according to Lucan, the senators are cowards submitting to Caesar. Caesar himself has a rather different view (Caes. Civ.1,33): they fail to give him adequate support. Both authors interpret what was probably a tendency to neutrality in their own way. On lines 109-12 cf. NOWAK 1955,17-8. Senatorial authors like Tacitus regularly express shame at the steady degradation of the Senate; for this and for detailed information on the Senate cf. TALBERT 1984.

censere parati: *censere* is a prose word almost completely absent in Roman poetry: it occurs only in Lucretius; Horace's Satires and Martial; cf. AXELSON 1945,64. Lucan adopts it in the strictly technical sense of 'giving a binding advice', 'decree' (see OLD s.v. 5). For the thought cf. 1,351 *urbi servire paratae*; Tac. Ann.3,65: *o homines ad servitutem paratos!*

110 **si regnum - petat**: 'if he should ask for royal power, for temples, for the death of senators or their exile'. The Senators will decree the most extreme measures, being prepared even to condemn themselves. The contrast of the present lines with 5,21, where the Senators are *cuncta iussuri*, could hardly have been greater. For *regnum*, a word with extremely negative connotations, cf. below on 145. *Templa* is probably not a poetic plural: Caesar might demand divine honours and several temples; cf. Van Dam on Stat. Silv.2,2,1-3. *Sibi* has a long second syllable here, as in 333 (*tibi*) and 7,30.

iugulumque...exiliumque: *iugulum* (in the metonymical sense of 'murder', 'cutting the throat' as in e.g. 2,317; 5,63; 368) and *exilium* are mentioned in a list of shameful things the Senate is willing to decree. Contrary to 'normal' logic, these elements are not mutually exclusive[1]. Nor is the fact that *exilium* comes after *iugulum* an anticlimax. In the rhetoric of BC, exile may be considered far worse than death, which enables one to assert one's courage and self-respect (cf. RUTZ 1960). SHACKLETON BAILEY 1987,77 points out that many Senators were already in exile, to avoid having to obey Caesar. Now, the remaining Senators in Rome are willing to accept something they had refused when their duty had

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[1]. LUCK has conjectured *-ve...-ve* for the MSS' *-que...-que*, comparing Cic. Verr.5,13; Ov. Met.10,232; Liv. 3,67,2 and 24,33,5. However, there is no need at all to change the text.

required it.

111 **melius**: sc. *erat*, *est*, *actum est*, or a similar verb. Cf. Juv. 2,139 *sed melius, quod nil animis in corpora iuris / natura indulget.*

plura iubere - pati: '(fortunately, there were) more things he was ashamed to ask than Rome to suffer'. Lucan might seem to say something positive on Caesar, but his aim is not to praise Caesar, but to highlight Rome's servility, the subject of the previous lines. Since there is nothing that Lucan's Caesar would feel ashamed of asking, there is *almost nothing* that Rome would not be ready to suffer. Rome has lowered herself to a totally slavish attitude[1].

112 **erubuit**: the verb is not used elsewhere in BC. For the construction with negation and infinitive cf. Verg. Ecl.6,1-2; Tac. Ann.6,23; 14,43; TLL V,822,66ff. For the color red in BC, which is mainly used of blood, cf. PATERNI 1987,109-10.

112-153 Caesar's plan to plunder the temple of Saturn is opposed by Metellus. Still, in the end Caesar can execute his plan.

(1) Summary:

As soon as the tribune Metellus notices Caesar's intention to plunder the State treasury, he blocks the entrance of the temple, and defies Caesar's might with provocative words. Caesar's answer is no less strong. He is highly irritated and almost resorts to violence. But Cotta manages to dissuade Metellus from persisting in his obstruction.

(2) Structure:

The episode of Metellus, the fourth and most important scene of the block 46-168, develops themes prepared in the previous scenes. The pathos reaches a climax in a concrete conflict between Caesar and 'Rome'. The final scene (153-168) will come after the conflict has been ended.

The conflict is evoked not by descriptions of actions, which are only succinctly pointed at (116-7; 121; 141-3; 153), but mainly by short speeches. Metellus' words (123-133) do not frighten Caesar, but only bring about a harsh answer (134-140). Both of these speeches are surpassed in pathetic value by the words of Cotta (145-153) which make Metellus yield and thus end the conflict. Although the three speeches gradually build up tension, there is no real interaction between the speakers. The exchange of speeches remains static.

The rest of the scene is filled with comments and evaluations on the part of the poet. He leaves no doubt about his own position: Metellus' action may be seen as a last try of Liberty to obstruct Caesar (112-117), but his motives are devoid of any idealism (118-20); Caesar's answer once more reveals his real nature (142-3). Cotta's words do not receive explicit comment, but their content and their effect, breaking the last bit of resistance to Caesar, sufficiently indicate that Cotta merely represents the cowardice and disillusion of Rome. On the structure of the scene cf. also

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1. Historically, Caesar did not even obtain the things he asked from the Senate: sending an embassy to Pompey; cf. Caes. Civ.1,33.

LEBEK 1976,195-202 [1].

(3) Historical material:

Most extant sources record Caesar's action. Plut. Caes.35 is the most elaborate and dramatic one, including sententiae said by Caesar; cf. further Plut. Pomp.62,1,2; Moralia 206 c (Caesar 8); App. BC 2,41; Flor. Epit.2,13,21[2]); Oros. 6,15,5; Zonar. 10,8.. In D.C. 41,17 not Caesar but his soldiers plunder the temple. Caesar himself merely alludes to the affair (Civ.1,33,3-4); cf. FABRE 1931[3]; RAMBAUD 1960,160. Metellus may have been opposing Caesar for a much longer period and by legal means (using *intercessiones* against Caesar's plans, and concretely emphasizing his *sacrosanctitas* as a tribune). The Metellus affair damaged Caesar's reputation; cf. Cic. Att.10,4,8. For a construction of the events, see FERRARY 1976, and, very strongly in favour of Caesar, ALFÖLDI 1985,212-215. None of the ancient sources mentions Cotta. Probably his appearance is one of Lucan's inventions; see on 143.

(4) Literary material:

From the historical material, Lucan has only selected the element of Metellus' blocking the temple. This he works out in a pathetic way, using common models (e.g. inserting speeches) and *loci communes* of declamation practice; see on 118. Together, these elements provide a negative image not just of Caesar, but of all three speakers; cf. above. On the scene as a whole see i.a. RUTZ 1950,118-9; MENZ 1952,94-7; SYNDIKUS 1958,61-63; KOPP 1969,73-5; GRAY 1974,186-91.

Caesar is dominated by *ira*, one of his main characteristics in BC; see on 46-70, and cf. below on 122 and 133. As an enemy of Libertas (cf. 7,695-6: *sed par quod semper habemus / Libertas et Caesar erit*) he is close to Alexander (10,25ff).

Metellus figures among a number of persons who resist Caesar: Domitius (BC 2); Vulteius (BC 5); and Scaeva (BC 6). Cf. also on 46-168 (4). We may call these scenes 'Widerstandsszenen', following KOPP 1969[4]). Within book three there is also a clear link with the resistance of the people of Massilia. MITCHELL 1973 points to remarkable parallels between those two scenes; cf. on 298-452.

The Metellus scene mirrors the Domitius scene (2,478-525) to some extent. One man, introduced by the epithet *pugnax* (114; 2,479), examines the situation (115; 2,481-3), and defies Caesar speaking strong words (123-33; 2,483-490), to which

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1. LEBEK regards the speeches of Metellus and Caesar as the central part, surrounded by Metellus' action and Cotta's speech. In this analysis the importance and climax of Cotta's words is reduced too much, in favour of a strictly symmetrical division of the text.

2. Florus does not name Metellus, but mentions *tribuni* (pl.). PICHON 1912,74 says this may reflect Livy's version of the story.

3. Earlier, in 1,14,1 Caesar actually mentions the *aerarium*, but there it is the Pompeians who try to take money from the temple. For the Pompeian's rapacity in Caesar's view cf. also Caes. Civ.2,18; 3,3; 3,82; and cf. his words in Luc. BC 7,752-4. Caesar's own action here had been expected before by Cic. Att.7,12,2.

4. KOPP regards BC as a political manifest for action against Nero. This view has been justly rejected by RUTZ 1985,1486.

Caesar answers indignantly (134-40; 2,494-9). In both cases Caesar denies his victim an honourable death, which is Lucan's perversion of Caesar's famous *clementia*[1]; cf. on 134. But Metellus' resistance is not just personal or strategic, as Domitius', but seems almost symbolical. It is significant that he gives in completely, whereas Domitius retains his pride (2,522-5); cf. RUTZ 1950,117-9. Metellus is a morally weak character, although he is on the 'right side', just as Rome, the Senate, and, sometimes, Pompey himself.

An interesting contrast to the Metellus-scene is 10,11-19 where Caesar is frightened and refrains from pillage in Egypt. But that should not be explained as a sign of good will; cf. Schmidt a.l..

***(5) Imitations*:**

The powerful Metellus-scene has inspired many later generations. TUCKER 1971 provides an interesting example of this. Illustrations in two editions of Brébeuf's French translation of Lucan from 1670 and 1796, show how Metellus was differently represented before and after the French revolution.

112 **tamen exit - virum**: 'nevertheless, Freedom did break out in wrath, and tried, in the person of one man, whether right could resist might' (DUFF). Lucan's sentence is difficult but the meaning is clear. Fortune gets angry, and accordingly tries to oppose Caesar. *Exit in* may be simply interpreted as 'procedit in', as HOUSMAN explains. Some editors argue that the *ira* must be Caesar's, and therefore have changed the text or its punctuation[2]. But though Caesar is often characterised by *ira*, this does not mean that every *ira* must be his. In this section of 'resistance', Freedom's *ira* matches Caesar's *ira* which will be mentioned later (cf. 133 and 136). Therefore, with BADALI 1989,153-4, I retain the MSS' reading *exit* with HOUSMAN's interpunction and interpretation.

113 **viribus...iura**: the opposition of 'might' of the sword and 'right' of the Republican law and order is present from the start of BC: 1,2 *iusque datum sceleri*; 166; 175-6 *mensuraque iuris / vis erat*; further i.a. 2,281-2; 315-6; 4,821; 5,312. Cf. also Enn. Ann.252 Sk. *non ex iure... sed...ex ferro*; Sall. Hist.1,18; Sen. Phaed.544 *pro iure vires*. In BC this opposition is used mainly to form ingenious sententiae. For a similar example of a pathetic contrast in book 3 cf. 303 *causas, non fata sequi*.

unum: likewise, Massilia is set apart in 3,392 *una*, and Scaeva in 6,141 *unus*. In book 3 (where *unus* is used 12 times) cf. further 647; 689; 696.

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1. Cf. also 4,337-364 where Afranius humbly begs for pardon, a request Caesar grants. Caesar always tries to break resistance, but when his anger is not provoked, he may react in a 'human' way. NEHRKORN 1960,142-53 compares the scenes of Domitius and Afranius, but seems to have overlooked the present scene.

2. HOSIUS and BOURGERY split up the sentence, printing a semicolon or a colon after *iram*, and thus make Caesar subject of *exit*. HASKINS retains *exit*, but translates: 'Freedom ...ends by - causing a dispute', which is impossible. SHACKLETON BAILEY 1982,93 suggests *exciet*, which in his 1988 edition of Lucan has been adopted into the text. He does refer to FRANCKEN's *exciit*, but seems to have overlooked LUNDQVIST 1907,153-4 who proposed *excit in*. LEBEK 1976,197 translates 'hat einen Zornausbruch zum Ergebnis', which is too free.

114 **Libertas**: personified as in e.g. 2,303; 7,433; 580; 696; 9,30; 10,25. Libertas is not the equivalent of the modern word 'liberty'. We may discern two forms of Libertas in BC: on the political level it reflects the ideal of *senatoria libertas*, a basic respect for the views of the Senate. On the personal level it represents the spiritual freedom of the *sapiens*. The two forms are mixed, as may be seen in the Lucanean Cato; cf. MARTINDALE 1984,71-2; SULLIVAN 1985,115-120; 148-9. On the use of the word in books 1-3 cf. also LEBEK 1976,167-209[1].

pugnaxque Metellus: *pugnax* is the common laudatory epithet of Domitius (2,479; 7,219; 600). But as Metellus' motives are wrong (cf. on 118), a positive translation seems less suited here. Metellus is 'contentious', 'eager to fight', like the Persians in 265 (DUFF's 'stubborn' is too negative). *-que* is explicative, as in 126 and e.g. 9,763.

L. Caecilius Metellus, tribune in 49 B.C. (cf. BROUGHTON 1952,259), is mentioned in Cic. Verr.3,159 as the son of the L. Caecilius Metellus who succeeded Verres in Sicily. He also became quaestor. At the beginning of the year 49 B.C. he withdrew with Pompey to Capua (cf. Cic. Att.9,6,3). Later, in 48 B.C., he is said to have been expelled from Italy by Caesar; cf. Cic. Att.11,7,2. He is not to be confused with the Metellus of 163. On all known Metelli cf. RE III,1897,1192-1228.

115 **ingenti...mole**: *moles* is essentially a 'mass' or 'massive thing'. As EHLERS and LUCK seem to suggest, it may point to some sort of battering ram here (a sense not given in OLD s.v.)[2]. TLL VIII,1342,63ff provides some examples of *moles* used 'de machinis bellicis'. Cf. esp. Amm.Marc. 20,11,11 *molem arietis magnam*; further Verg. A.2,32 (the wooden horse); Amm.Marc. 23,4,5; Veget. Mil.4,20; Oros. 7,9,4. It conveys the image of drastic violence, also because of the remarkable hyperbaton and the position of *mole* at the beginning of the verse. The detail is Lucan's, but it is well attested to that the temple was opened by force. D.C. 41,17 tells us that the keys of the temple were in the hands of the consuls, who had fled from Rome. See also on 153 *patuere*.

Saturnia templa: the State Treasure, the *aerarium Populi Romani* or *aerarium Saturni*, was stored in the temple of Saturn, probably in a room behind the podium. Here Lucan means a special part of it, the so called *aerarium sanctius*, which was kept up for emergency cases; cf. Liv. 27,10,11 *aurum..., quod in sanctiore aerario ad*

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1. LEBEK's analyses of sections where Libertas plays a role brings him to the conclusion that books 1-3 are not 'antineronisch', contrary to later books. But discussion about the unity of BC still continues; cf. RUTZ 1985,1485. Much has been written about the concept of Libertas in BC, especially by scholars who regard BC as a political poem, though no one has gone as far as NUTTING 1932, who states that Libertas is the 'hero' of the poem.

2. The sense 'mass', 'soldiers' (as in 6,189; Verg. A.12,575) is defended by GREGORIUS 1893,12, and retained by BOURGERY. HASKINS translates 'exertion', 'effort'. However, considering the concrete *revelli* both interpretations seem less to the point here. Also, 'mass' would be strange considering 128-9.

ultimos casus servabatur. Before this act of Caesar, it had been used only in 209 B.C.[1]. For the amount and the sources of money contained in it, see on 154-168.

The building was inaugurated in 497 B.C. at the foot of the Capitolian hill, and was often reconstructed. Some parts of it are still extant; cf. CORBIER 1974,631-3; further MILLAR 1964,33 and COARELLI 1974,72-4. Surprisingly, Lucan gives us no impression of what the building looked like. BASTET 1970 has noticed that Lucan rarely includes such pictorial details, quite unlike other poets. The plural *templa* occurs as early as in Enn. Ann.48 Sk..

116 rapit gressus: in Latin poetry *rapere* is increasingly used as an expressive verb of violent movements[2], occurring in various combinations. Lucan also has *rapere agmen* 299; 1,228; 4,35; 4,717; *cursus* 5,403; *bellum* 5,409; *iter* 6,121-2.

117 constitit: gestures are one of the principal means by which Lucan both reflects a person's inner attitude and visualizes a scene, often before a speech. *(Con)stare* can mirror 'will' and 'inner motifs', especially intransigence, as in e.g. 170; 9,593; 833; cf. KÖNIG 1958,100-16, who also gives examples of other nuances. For the phrase *ante ...constitit* cf. 2,509 *constitit ante pedes*; 4,340.

nondum reseratae: after *ingenti...revelli / mole* this once more points to the fact that the temple was locked, but it may even suggest something like 'resistance' of the building itself. For the phrase cf. Ov. Tr.5,9,29.

118 (usque adeo...: in this parenthesis (for which cf. e.g. 7,172-3; 9,305-11) Lucan interprets Metellus' behaviour in the worst possible manner: the only man who resists Caesar is said to be not led by principles, but by his lust for gold. The *leges* have no force even for a defender of freedom, but money is the cause of the dispute. Only Metellus' readiness to die gives him a certain greatness.

Lucan has obviously been eager to adopt the *locus communis de divitiis* which was so common in declamation schools. Cf. BONNER 1966,269-73, who refers to Sen. Con.1 praef.23; 2,1,21; 25; 26; 29. Cf. further e.g. Lucr. 5,1423ff; Hor. Carm.2,18,1-8; 3,1,41-8; Tib. 1,10,7-10. On numerous occasions in BC this *locus* is used: 1,160-7; 4,96-7; 816-8; 9,706; 10,110; 155-69; contrast 4,373-81; 5,526-31; 8,241-3; 10,146-54.

119 auri...amor: the abstract *amor* is made subject of *nescit*. It is clearly used in a negative sense here, as in *amor belli* (1,21; 2,325; 9,228) *ferri* 1,355; *mortis* (4,147; 6,246) or *scelerum* (4,236); cf. TUCKER 1990,45.

For the phrase cf. 7,747 *aurique cupidine caecos* (a verse deleted by HOUSMAN); Verg. A.1,349 *auri caecus amore*; 3,57 *auri sacra fames* (which according to Macr.5,16,7 became proverbial); Sen. Phaed.527-8 *auri/ caecus cupido*. Cf. also Ov.

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1. The Pompeians had tried to seize the treasure before Caesar, but their attempt had failed; cf. Cic. Att.7,21,2. Caesar was eager to include a reference to this in his work: BC 1,14, while remaining vague about his own similar act.

2. The word occurs only 5 times in Lucr. but 75 in Verg. A.; 77 in Ov.Met.; 110 in Lucan; 103 in Stat. Theb. and 122 times in Sil.; cf. HÜBNER 1975,206-7n47.

Met.1,131 *amor sceleratus habendi* (with Bömer's comment a.l.); Fast.1,195; Laus Pisonis 219 *auri fames et habendi saeva libido*; Rut.Nam. 1,358.

For 'gold' in Roman epic cf. FOLSE 1936,65. Lucan even describes the origins of coinage (4,402-5). To say that Lucan's attitude to gold may have been influenced by the apostle Paul, as TUCKER 1975 does, is mere romantic fiction.

discrimine nullo: 'indiscriminately', 'without any difference', as in 4,218; 10,91; Verg. A.1,574; 10,108. The ending is traditional; cf. Ov. Tr.5,10,29; Sil. 14,546; SCHUMANN 1983, s.v. (not mentioning the present case).

120 **amissae**: not the exact equivalent of *pereunt*: the laws grow obsolete before they disappear completely.

sed: the reading of ZM which is generally accepted[1]. Only EHLERS prints *et*, a reading found in other MSS.

pars vilissima rerum: 'the meanest thing in existence' (WIDDOWS).

121 **movistis, opes**: apostrophe to an abstract idea. The first example of this is A. Ch.466 (*ponos*), and many other examples may be found in Greek tragedy. In Latin epic, Lucan seems to be the first who uses this device. He apostrophizes not only such traditional 'tragic' notions as *dolor* 8,634; *mors* 4,580; *dextra* 8,795; and more or less personified things such as *mens* 7,552 and *natura* 9,855; but also real abstract concepts. With *opes* here we may compare *mores* 161; *causa* 1,418; or *luxuries* 4,373. For apostrophe of money cf. Prop. 3,7,1; cf. further VIANSINO 1974,63-6; on apostrophe in general, see on 159. For *movere* cf. the construction *bellum movere* in 1,119; 2,231 a.o..

prohibensque rapina: 'trying to prevent (Caesar) from plundering'. Lucan constructs *prohibere* with a simple ablative; cf. OLD s.v.4a; OBERMEIER 1886,57.

122 **victorem testatur**: 'solemnly declares to the victor...:'. As *testor* means 'call to witness', it is regularly constructed with accusative. Here, as in 357, it is used as emphatic introduction to a speech; cf. SANGMEISTER 1978,56. Accordingly, we must print a colon after *tribunus*, not a full stop, as SHACKLETON BAILEY does (whereas in 357 he does print a colon).

For *victor* as designation for Caesar, cf. on 71. Once again, a shadow is cast on the word, now by the foregoing *rapina*.

tribunus: as a *tribunus plebis* Metellus was *sacrosanctus*. The word gains additional force here by its position at the end of the verse, in marked contrast to *victorem* at the beginning.

123 **non nisi...** : the Metellus-scene is largely made up of three speeches, each by a different speaker. This is the only example of a complex alternation of speeches with more than two speakers; cf. BASORE 1904,95; TASLER 1971,12-15. This first speech is dominated by two lines of thought: (i) Caesar can only plunder the temple after killing Metellus, but for this act he will receive due punishment from the Gods (123-129). (ii) He does not need to plunder the temple at all (130-3). The first thought, appealing to *fas*, is illustrated with the example of Crassus, and rounded off defiantly. In the second element, appealing to *utile*, the tone is much smoother. On

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1. HOUSMAN writes *set*; cf. also BADALI 1989,166.

this speech cf. further FAUST 1908,47; RUTZ 1950,118-9; MENZ 1952,94; LEBEK 1976,198.

percussa: in Lucan's text a participium coniunctum with *templa*. But *percutere* may be used of both things and persons. We may translate: 'not unless you strike my body shall the temple be opened for you', or 'only over my body...'. The noun *latus* 'side' represents the seat of physical strength, or the most vulnerable part of the body; cf. OLD s.v.2-3.

124 **sanguine**: it is often stated that Lucan has a special fancy for blood and bloodshed. But in fact, both the high frequency of words for blood, and the preference of the medical word *sanguis* (124 times, 11 in book 3) to the more poetic *cruor* (41 times, 5 in book 3) are common to all Silver Latin epic poets; cf. the statistics presented by HÜBNER 1976b,305n23. Of the 101 cases of casus obliqui of *sanguis* in BC 82 appear at this place in the verse; cf. OLLFORS 1967,68.

sacro: the reading of Z, and the scholia (erased in M, and present in several younger MSS) is generally preferred to the rather weak *nostro* of PUGV. Metellus' blood is 'sacred', because being a *tribunus* he is *sacrosanctus*. The allitteration of *s* seems to be intentional, as in 129. The ending *sanguine sacro* occurs in Verg. A.5,78 and in Medieval Latin poetry; cf. SCHUMANN 1983 s.v. who has no reference to the Lucanean text.

125 **raptor**: 'robber', a political term of abuse, dating from the Republic, but still used during the Imperial period; cf. OPELT 1965,168-9; in general SULLIVAN 1985,148. For *raptor* cf. Hor. Carm.3,20,4; Sil. 9,200; Tac. Ag.30,5[1]. In general on the political use of nomina agentis in *-tor* during the Republic, see WEISCHE 1966,105-11. Lucan liked to use both existing words like *victor, portitor, cultor* and apparent neologisms as *fuscator* 4,66; *scrutator* 4,298; 5,122; or *sulcator* 4,588; cf. full list in Van Amerongen on 5,122.

opes: as may be seen here, Lucan does not hesitate to repeat a word within a few lines: cf. 121.

certe - deos: 'certainly the violation of that power meets with (the revenge of) the Gods'. The statement will be illustrated by the following historical example. *Invenit* with short *e* is praesens.

126 **ista**: *iste* here replaces *meus*, as in 1,342; 5,287; 351; 6,242; cf. LUNDQVIST 1907,121. *Iste* is similarly used instead of *noster* in 5,287; 588; 8,122. This usage increases from Lucan onwards; cf. LHS II,183f; TLL VII,2,508,58ff. Still, *iste* belongs to spoken language, and is not frequently used in higher poetry, as AXELSON 1945,71-3 shows.

Crassumque...: 'a tribune's curses followed Crassus into war, and promised him fights with a bad outcome'. *-Que* is explicative here.

M. Licinius Crassus was killed by the Parthians after the battle of Carrhae in 53 B.C. His defeat is often referred to in Roman literature, cf. TIMPE 1962. In various contexts Lucan mentions or alludes to Crassus' defeat and his lack of a funeral; cf. 1,11; 2,552-4; 7,431; 8,232-4; 300-2; 325-7; 390-4; 420-2; 9,64-5; 265-7; 10,51-2;

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[1]. For similar use of *latro* cf. VAN HOOFF 1988,esp.111-5.

sometimes Crassus is named as intermediary between Caesar and Pompey: 1,99-106; 3,265-6. For the Crassus motif, cf. SCHREMPP 1964,68-71; SCHÖNBERGER 1968,46; SZELEST 1979. A modern book on Crassus is MARSHALL 1976.

The incident alluded to by Lucan had taken place during Crassus' departure from Rome in 55 B.C. The tribune C. Ateius Capito tried to prevent Crassus' departure by an announcement of bad omens (*dirarum obnuntiatio*), and later by formal curses (*exsecrationes*); cf. D.C. 39,39,6; Vell. 2,46,3. Lucan seems to combine these two elements, as Flor. Epit.1,46,3 and Min.Felix. Oct.7,4 do[1]; cf. BAYET 1960; BURCKHARDT 1988,204[2]. For *dirae* cf. Cic. Div.1,29-30 for details on such ritual curses cf. Plu. Crass.16,6-8; Cic. Dom.123-5. Tribunician intercessions were a political instrument by which the 'optimates' in the late Republican period could obstruct policy of the 'populares'; cf. BURCKHARDT 1988,159-77.

Metellus' situation seems rather different from Ateius': the latter's *sacrosanctitas* had actually not been violated; in his turn, Metellus does not pronounce *dirae* or *exsecrationes*. The story is simply aimed at terrifying Caesar: as the curses led to Crassus' doom, so the violation of Metellus' *sacrosanctitas* will lead to Caesar's.

in bella secutae: the curses were pronounced when Crassus left Rome. Therefore, they 'follow him' into war. For the verse ending cf. 2,293 *Romanaque bella sequentur*; 9,242 *te solum in bella secutus*.

127 **saeva tribuniciae**: for the beginning cf. 2,125 *saeva tribunicio....* HOUSMAN explains *saeva* as 'improspera', comparing Tac. Ann.2,5,2 (and a variant reading in Amm. Marc.).

voverunt: 'heraufbeschworen' EHLERS. *Dirae* is subject, *proelia* object; for the sense of *voveo* cf. OLD s.v.1 and the parallels adduced by HASKINS (Flor. Epit.1,46,3; Hor. Ep.1,4,8; Ov. Met.13,88; Pont.1,6,48). Less accurately, some translators (BOURGERY; LUCK) suggest that the curses condemn Crassus to utter doom. There is no need to emend to *moverunt* or *noverunt*, as FRANCKEN and older scholars proposed. The text of the MSS is sound; cf. LUNDQVIST 1907,154-8. The only variant reading *vovere in*, read by Z^2, probably goes back to antiquity; cf. GOTOFF 1971,66.

128 **detege...**: Metellus openly defies Caesar. The idea of saving the treasure seems temporarily forgotten, but will reappear in 130-4.

129 **spectatrix scelerum**: cf. the rumour in 1,484, according to which Rome had already been sacked *Romano spectante*; see further on 445 *videntes*. *Spectatrix* has an Ovidian color: cf. Ov. Met.9,359; Am.2,12,26; Ep.17,94. Outside Ovid and Lucan, I have found the word only in a variant reading in Pl. Mer.842 and in Apul. Pl.2,6. On nomina agentis in *-tor/-trix* used as adjectives, cf. LHS II,157-8; Williams on Stat.

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[1]. Other ancient sources refer to just the first element (Plu. Crass.16,6-8, Sen. Nat 5,18,10) or the second (App BC 2,18) or remain vague (Cic. Div.1,29-30; Att 4,13,2) In this context they mention Ateius alone (Plu), Ateius and a collegue Aquillius Gallus (D.C), or *tribuni plebis* (App and Vell). Flor. confuses Metellus with Ateius

[2]. An older article on the incident is SIMPSON 1938, but its conclusions are rather disputable I mainly follow BAYET's analysis of the sources

Theb.10,174. For *scelus* as typical of civil war, cf. 322; 328; 333. It occurs in this sense as early as in 1,2.

deserta...urbe: this is, of course highly exaggerated. In Metellus' time, Rome was anything but 'deserted' by men, even in Lucan's picture in the previous sections[1]. But throughout BC the poet uses the motif of 'deserted Rome', 'deserted Italy' to emphasize with much pathos the devastating results and the absurd consequences of civil war. Cf. 1,24-31; 5,30-3; 7,389-407 (with 402 *urbs nos una capit*); further 2,392-438; 9,964-79 (ruins of Troy, as symbol for Rome). Here there is an additional link with Caesar's own words in 91-2 *te...deseruere viri?*.

130 **e nostro**: sc. *aerario* or a similar word; FLETCHER 1988,134 compares Sen. Ep.8,9 *negat fortuita in nostro habenda*; 108,27. The word creates a strong contrast of Roman citizens and Caesar with his soldiers, qualified bluntly as *sceleratus*. This line introduces the second element of the speech, but its tone is not yet conciliatory.

praemia: as Schmidt on 10,149 points out, gold and money are important for Caesar only as a means to pay his soldiers and continue the war; cf. 150; 10,149-50. For the ending *praemia miles* cf. 5,246.

sceleratus: a common term of abuse, see OPELT 1965,159-161. It is a rather vague word, though its basic meaning is clear. In political contexts it may denote the enemy of the state or the insubordinate citizen. For this, *scelestus* may equally be used. It is an epithet of Caesar or his party in: B.Afr.22 and 44.

131 **sunt quos - populi**: 'there are (enough) nations you can overthrow'. Metellus uses a second argument here, appealing to Caesar's practical interests: Caesar doesn't need Rome, as he possesses plenty of other towns, and as he 'has war'. *Prosternere* is used six times in the sense 'overthrow', 'destroy utterly'. WEBER 1969,46 includes the word in his comparative table of words for 'to kill', but that is not the relevant sense for BC.

moenia dones: sc. to his soldiers, either to plunder, or, more likely, to settle themselves after their discharge from service; cf. Caesar's words in 1,340-346, esp.345 *quae moenia fessis (sc. erunt)?*.

132 **pacis - egestas**: 'no poverty compells you to (take) the spoils of our exhausted peace'. A difficult line, which has led to much discussion. HOUSMAN objects to the reading with best MSS authority, *exhaustae*, arguing that it would be absurd to speak of 'exhausted peace' in front of a treasury stuffed with riches. He adopts Heinsius' conjecture *exutae*, although he admits it was made 'temere ac fortuito'. His paraphrase is: 'non egestate cogens pacem, quam deposuisti, spoliare; habes enim, unde locupletere, bellum'. HOUSMAN has been followed by LUCK and recently SHACKLETON BAILEY.

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[1]. In 7,404-5 we even read *nulloque frequentem / cive suo Romam, sed mundi faece repletam*, which says the very opposite, but perhaps Lucan suggests that *deserta* refers to Roman citizens only. AHL 1976,216-7 quotes several sources which testify that some rural towns in Latium had actually been deserted during the 1st century A.D. But the primary cause was not civil war as such, but factors such as urbanism and large scale farming (*latifundia*).

But Metellus argues that Rome in time of peace has suffered too much already, and need not be robbed of its last resources. Caesar 'gaining spoils from an exhausted peace' would be a perfect Lucanean paradox, whereas 'from a discarded peace' seems impossible and sounds weak[1]. I therefore retain the traditional MSS' reading *exhaustae*; cf. also CANALI; WIDDOWS; BADALI 1989,179.

133 **habes**: the speech ends in the middle of the verse, as in 40. The next speech will begin in the middle of a verse.

victor: cf. on 71 and 112. Here the word is put in a negative light by the following *magnam in iram*.

iram: Caesar is closely linked with *ira*. Here his *ira* matches Libertas' *ira* in 112. Surprisingly, the detail appears to be historically accurate: cf. Cic. Att.10,4,8 *plane iracundia elatum voluisse Caesarem occidi Metellum tr.pl.*; 10,9a,1. Throughout BC Caesar is constantly depicted as dominated by affect, mainly *ira*. It illustrates his personality as a subversive, a tyrant and a foreign enemy; cf. on 46-70 (4). For Caesar's *ira* in BC 3 cf. 136; 142; 357; 439; cf. further 1,146; 2,493; 5,318; 7,802; 809; 8,134; 643; 765; 10,443. This *ira* seems devoid of a proper goal or aim: it is blind fury. It has been noted that Lucan's Caesar in many ways seems to illustrate the theory on anger in Sen. Dial.3-5 (*De Ira*); cf. RUTZ 1950,135; KOPP 1969,73-75; BURCK-RUTZ 1979,183; GLAESSER 1984,39-44; see also on 303 *furorem*.

134 **accensus**: the rhythm of the sentence, with hyperbaton *his...vocibus* and *accensus* at this place is perhaps suggestive of Caesar's mounting anger.

vanam spem...: Caesar's speech forms the second of the three speeches in the Metellus scene. It rejects Metellus' wish to die (134-7), and describes him as an unworthy person compared with Caesar (137-40). As LEBEK 1976,198-9 points out, Caesar enters upon the principal aspects of the conflict, talking about *libertas* and *leges*, whereas Metellus had avoided such subjects and had remained on the level of *auri amor*. Unquestionably, Caesar is the stronger character here. This speech starts in the middle of the verse; cf. on 38. On the speech as a whole cf. also FAUST 1908,47-8; RUTZ 1950,118; TASLER 1971,14.

It has been the model of two speeches by the Elizabethan dramatist Ben Jonson in his *Sejanus* and his *Catilina*; cf. VON KOPPENFELS 1975,80.

spem mortis honestae: in the literature of the imperial period we meet the idea that glory can only be achieved in death, in which a man can express his freedom and fulfil himself; cf. Stat. Theb.3,217; 11,715 (*saevae spes aspera mortis*). In Lucan it is an important motif in the battle scenes, as in 509-762 of this book; for this concept of *amor mortis* cf. esp. RUTZ 1960; see also on 240.

Where a subjugated person in epic poetry begs for his life, this request is nearly always refused (except in Hom. Od.22,330-380); cf. LEBEK 1976,155 with n67. Here, paradoxically, Caesar refuses to let Metellus die. However, this is no more an

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1. FRAENCKEL 1926,512-3 paraphrases: 'paci defatigatae (tantis nimirum tumultibus) ultima quae ei relicta sunt bona eripere non debes'. However, he understands *exhaustae* as referring to political weakness, whereas the war as a whole, with all its military and economic effects, is probably meant.

expression of human feelings than in 2,512-5 where Domitius is not allowed to die, or in 4,273-80 and 7,318-9 where Pompeian soldiers are spared. In each case warriors inspired by *amor mortis* are prevented from attaining glory by a humiliating 'mercy'. This is the twist which Lucan gives to Caesar's renowned *clementia*. Sparing lives in such a way is nothing more than acting like a tyrant: cf. Sen. Ag.994-6; Her.F.509-13. Cf. further LIPPS 1966,84-7; HÜBNER 1976b. For the ending of the line cf. 6,235 *mortis honestae* and 10,539 *vix spes quoque mortis honestae*. The sentence is quoted by Lactant. on Stat. Theb.3,216.

135 **inquit**: the word here comes after almost an entire line of speech; see on 13.

iugulo - manus: a variation of Verg. Ecl.8,47-8 *saevus Amor docuit natorum sanguine matrem / commaculare manus*; cf. WEBER 1969,55-66 for similar paraphrases for 'kill' and 'die'. Cf. further Juv. 8,218 *iugulo se polluit*. For the correct reading *polluet* some MSS (MZRE) give *polluit*; cf. GOTOFF 1971,116.

isto: here refers to a 2nd person; cf. on 126 where it referred to the 1st person.

136 **Caesaris ira**: the ending seems Ovidian: cf. Ov. Tr. 1,2,3; 1,2,61 and 11 other places in the Tr. and Pont.; cf. SCHUMANN 1983, s.v.; in BC cf. 439; 8,134; 765. For Caesar's *ira* cf. above, on 133.

137 **nullus honor**: the tribune's *sacrosanctitas*, or his office as a whole is meant here.

te vindice - Libertas: 'with you as her champion Freedom shall be safe?!'. As the scholiast of the Comm.Bern. notes: 'ironia pronuntiandum'. The line has been omitted in BOURGERY's translation.

138 **non usque adeo...**: 'the course of time has not mixed all things upside down so much, that when the laws are saved by Metellus' voice, they would not prefer to be abolished by Caesar'. An elaborate paradox concludes the speech. In BC, the fundamental paradox is civil war, where everything is wrong, perverted, indeed 'turned upside down'. Here we hear about this in the words of the main exponent of this war, Caesar. Thus Lucan has created a paradox within a paradox. It is quoted by Augustin. Contra Iul. 2,10,35 and Prisc. GLK 2,158,22ff.

The phrase *summa imis permiscere* is proverbial; the closest parallel is Ov. Met.7,278 *omnia confudit summisque inmiscuit ima*; cf. also Rut.Nam. 2,44. In variations like *summa imis miscere, mutare* or *paria facere* it occurs in many places, e.g. Hor. Carm.1,34,12-3; Cic. Leg.3,19; Curt. 8,8,8; Liv. 32,7,10; Vell. 2,2,3; Sen. Thy 598; V.Fl. 4,517-8; cf. OTTO 1890 s.v. *summus*; HÄUSSLER 1968,64,80,118,215,288. For *permiscere* cf. Sall. Jug.5 *quae contentio divina et humana cuncta permiscuit*. The Greek has similar expressions with *anô* and *katô*, cf. A. Eu.650; Hdt. 3,3; Pl. Tht.153D.

139 **dies**: one of Lucan's poetic equivalents for *tempus*, as in 7,845; cf. OLD s.v.9, quoting Pl. Epid.544 *longa dies*; GREGORIUS 1893,51.

140 **servantur**: *servantur* is the reading of V, the Adn. and Priscian (see on 138), adopted by most modern editors. Only BOURGERY prints *serventur*, following the majority of MSS. As early as in the Adn. mention is made of the variant reading here. The indicative seems to make better sense here: Metellus' action is real, not hypothetical.

leges: this probably does not refer to any specific law, but collectively to the laws established in a normal state. Of course, a man as Caesar who acts like a tyrant has nothing but contempt for such laws.

a Caesare: Caesar speaks about himself in the 3rd person. This might be a subtle allusion to this habit of Caesar's in his own writings.

141 **dixerat**: indicates the end of a speech, as often in Verg. A. and elsewhere in BC, cf 1,352, 4,363; 6,624; 9,165.

142 **acrior ira**: after Libertas' *ira*, matched by Caesar's *ira*, here the conflict gets worse Caesar's real nature threatens to emerge, as opposition against him has not yet subsided. *Acer* is used only in two other places in BC, both in connection with *ira*, 1,146-7, 2,323-4. For the rhythm cf. Prop 1,9,26 *acrius illa subit.*

circumspicit· 'he looks round for' In this sense the verb is constructed with plain accusative, cf OLD s v 6a. Caesar's face expresses his inner thoughts (cf. 356, 1,298, 4,363). KÖNIG 1957,129-32 deals with expressions on the face, within the larger group of gestures (cf on 117), but does not mention the present text. The ending seems echoed in Claud 15,179 *intentos capiti circumspicit enses*

143 **oblitus - togam**: Caesar was described in 53 as *paci intentus*, and his troops as *non armata ..sed pacis habentia vultum* in 72, but here the illusion is broken: Caesar thinks of resorting to violence and looks for weapons. The detail seems historical cf. Cic. Att.10,8,6 *qui duarum rerum simulationem tam cito amiserit, mansuetudinis in Metello, divitiarum in aerario* Cf further MENZ 1952,95. For *toga* as 'life as civilian' (not 'peace' as the scholiasts suggest) cf 1,312; 365, 8,814, 9,199. The phrase is echoed in the paradox *iam doctam servire togae* 5,382: Rome has learned to obey Caesar even when he is not in military outfit[1]. On Caesar's hypocrisy and lies cf. also SCHÖNBERGER 1968,48-9, an entirely pro-Caesarean account of what happened, is ALFOLDI 1985,212-5.

tum· the reading of the MSS (*tunc* in C). HOUSMAN accepts Bentley's emendation *cum*, because 'non quid deinde factum sit narratur sed quid Caesarem a caede retinuerit'. He is followed by several editors (DUFF, LUCK, SHACKLETON BAILEY). But in fact, *saevos - togam* does describe what happened next it is the immediate result of *acrior ira subit.* Adversative *cum* would be very harsh here. Since there is no MSS evidence for *cum* and no necessity to change the text, I retain *tum* with BOURGERY, EHLERS and CANALI. Cf. also on *tum* in 9, 373 On the forms *tum* and *tunc* in the Lucanean MSS cf. LUNDQVIST 1907,107-9

Cotta· according to the Adn and Comm Bern. a collegue of Metellus, cf. BROUGHTON 1952,258. In fact, we know nothing about a tribune by this name. Other sources remain silent on his person and his intervention here[2]. We may assume that Lucan has completely invented the story. But it seems hard to believe

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[1] Caesar does not excell in civic qualities, cf also 2,446 *concessa pudet ire via civemque videri*, 5,539 *indocilis privata loqui*

[2] He is not the same person as M Aurelius Cotta mentioned in my note to 64, nor the legatus of Caesar mentioned in 1,429 I note that in one of Lucan's remaining fragments (FPL Buechner Lucanus 9, quoted by Mart 10,64,6) the name Cotta occurs *si nec pedicor, Cotta, quid hic facio?*

Lucan has invented the person as well. If we put aside the common assumption that he must be a tribune, he may perhaps be identified. FERRARY 1976 has come up with the brilliant suggestion that Lucius Aurelius Cotta may be the person Lucan meant here. This Cotta (on whom cf. RE II,2485-7 s.v. *Aurelius*) was an influential member of the Senate, and a friend of Cicero's (Fam 12,2,3, Phil.2,13). Thus, he may represent the Senate's view here. As his views reflect baseness and cowardice, this would fit in perfectly with the general image of the Senate in BC 3[1]. If this is true, Lucan has invented an episode with a historical person as main actor, just as in 7,61-85, where Cicero is said to speak in Pompey's camp near Pharsalus.

144 **compulit** not 'forced' (DUFF) but 'persuaded', as already Arnulf has observed. It is constructed with infinitive as in Ov. Fast.3,860, Curt. 5,1,35.

audaci another epithet on *-ax* used in relation to Metellus, after *pugnax* in 114. *Audax* was a term of abuse during the Republican period, often used in the works of Cicero and Livy to denote the political adversaries of the *boni*. This political connotation may have been present in the Imperial period as well: cf. Tac.Ann 4,1; Hist.3,57, cf OPELT 1965,159-160, WEISCHE 1966,28-33. (See also on *raptor* 125). But here (as in 499) the word seems to be used in a neutral sense. The negative element resides in *nimium*: Metellus is 'too bold'.

desistere coepto for the ending cf Disticha Catonis 1,9,2. For the phrase cf Verg. A.1,37 *incepto desistere*, Sen Phoen 103.

145 **libertas, inquit...**: Cotta's speech concludes the series of speeches in the Metellus scene. In 145-7 the speaker deals with the principal question (corresponding with 137-40), the recommended attitude of submission is justified in 147-9, the end of the speech (150-2) takes up the *aut amor* which inspired Metellus' words (cf. 118-21). Cotta's words seem a parody of Stoic doctrine, and are evidently inspired by cowardice and lack of moral strength (cf below on 145, 147, 150). It comes as no surprise that the weak Metellus gives in to such words (153). Metellus is bad, Caesar is worse, but Cotta is the worst of all. Thus, in accordance with epic tradition, the last speaker represents the force or opinion which prevails, though in a negative sense here; cf. LEBEK 1976,154 with n65-6 The speech as a whole does not make a lively impression, but sounds like a mere series of sententiae. It is the only speech in BC 3 which starts and ends in a full verse. On the speech cf. further FAUST 1908,49, MENZ 1952,96, TASLER 1971,14[2].

libertas - iubeare velis· 'the freedom of a people held down by tyranny perishes through (the assertion of) freedom. One can save a shadow of it, when one wants whatever is ordered' Lines 145-7 contain a condensed pair of sententiae. For the first, already OUDENDORP compares Sen. Dial.9,5,3 on Socrates: *qui tuto insul-*

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[1] The reason why Lucan chose him might be that in 44 B C. he approved Caesar's far reaching plans He even seems to have wanted to make him *rex* (cf Suet. Jul 79,3, Cic. Div 2,110)

[2] MENZ thinks that Cotta is introduced to save Metellus from the disgrace of directly giving in to Caesar TASLER says that Cotta speaks 'in besonnenem und ruhigem Ton' Neither sees Lucan's bitter irony Similarly, BERTOLI 1980,15 speaks of apparent 'buon senso' of Cotta's words, and 'rivolta morale di Lucano'

taverat agmini tyrannorum, eius libertatem libertas non tulit. The second appears to express the Stoic theory on freedom; cf. e.g. Sen.Ep. 54,7; 61,3 *qui imperia libens excipit, partem acerbissimam servitutis effugit, facere quod nolit*; 107,9; Dial.7,15,7 *in regno nati sumus. Deo parere libertas est.* However, the one who must be obeyed here is not Fatum or the Gods, but the 'tyrant' Caesar. Because of this, Cotta's words become a parody of Stoic doctrine. Cotta voices nothing but a slavish attitude, veiled in fancy words; cf. also STEEN DUE 1970,218-20; AHL 1976,236-7n6. For a similar allusion cf. 4,487 *cupias quodcumque necesse est.* Some scholars suggest that there is an allusion here to an event in Lucan's own days (e.g. KOPP 1968,74n29[1]) but this remains a matter of speculation. For Lucan's concept of *libertas* cf. on 112.

regna: *regnum* is 'tyranny'; cf. OLD s.v. 3. It was a word with very negative connotations for Romans (cf. Cic.Rep.1,66 on reges). Lucan fully exploits this in repeatedly connecting it with Caesar: cf. e.g. 4,692; 5,207; 7,240; 386 [2]. The word occurs no less than 92 times in BC.

146 **libertate - umbram:** the verse is omitted by ZM. The error may be due to the repetition of the word *libertas* at the beginning.

libertate: 'through (the assertion of) freedom' or 'through freedom of speech' (cf. OLD s.v.7). The pun of *libertas* destroyed by *libertas* cannot be rendered exactly in English.

cuius: refers to *libertas*, not *libertate*, which has a different sense.

umbra: cf. 2,302-3 *tuumque nomen, Libertas, / et inanem persequar umbram*; Tac. Ann.1,77 *simulacra libertatis. Umbra* is used metaphorically, as in 1,135 on Pompey: *magni nominis umbra*; 8,449; Ov. Met.9,460; Sen. Ep.92,27; cf. NOVAKOVA 1964. For the thought cf. 9,204-6 *olim vera fides...libertatis obit, ...nunc et ficta perit.*

147 **tot rebus - victi:** 'to so many acts of injustice we have submitted, after we had been conquered'. Cotta recommends submission to Caesar, and justifies this by pointing at the present servility of the Romans. But to whom did they give in? According to HOUSMAN *victi* refers to the entire period of Sulla and Marius; cf. also SCHREMPP 1964,62, who deals with several references in BC to that period (p.60-64)[3]. But *victi* clearly echoes Caesar's epithet *victor* of 71; 122; 133. Allowing for some rhetorical exaggeration, his illegal actions in Italy and Rome may well be called a series of *res iniquae*. Thus, Caesar seems to be the one who is meant here; cf. LEBEK 1976,200-1n50; AXELSON 1973,306-8.

148 **venia - negari:** 'this is the only excuse for our disgrace and our unworthy fear, that nothing could now have been refused to him'. For *pudor* as 'source of shame',

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1. Cf. O'HIGGINS 1988,210, who suggests that Cotta's words may apply to Lucan himself.

2. Remarkably, Dio in the context of the Metellus scene, (41,17,2-3) speaks about what amounted to Caesar's *dunasteia*.

3. BOURGERY objects to *victi* and prefers *vincti* of Z (and perhaps originally in M): he argues that Metellus and Cotta are not conquered by Caesar, but made prisoners (cf. Plu. Caes.35,8). This does not seem convincing. Plu. means they are 'in Caesar's power'.

'dishonour' cf. OLD s.v. 4. For the construction cf. 5,580-1; Far from justifying the previous statement, this argument shows Cotta to have sunk as low as possible[1].

sola: the opposition of *solus* (or *unus*) to the rest is frequent in BC; cf. above on 113. For paradoxes based on this contrast, cf. on 689.

149 **nil iam**: the reading of nearly all MSS, printed by most editors; but BOURGERY prints *non iam* from ZM; whereas HOUSMAN (followed by DUFF and SHACKLETON BAILEY) adopts *nullam* (sc. *ex rebus iniquis*) from the Adn.. Both *nullam* and *nil iam* make good sense. But the latter has better MSS authority, and is less harsh; cf. AXELSON 1973,308.

potuisse: regrettably, after a thorough discussion of the text of 148-9, AXELSON 1973,308-9 comes up with a conjecture, though all MSS agree here. But his arguments for *voluisse* or *placuisse* are not convincing. It should be remembered that the text does not necessarily comply to the rules of logic or historical truth. Rhetorical effect is, again, the sole aim. Cotta 'justifies' the Romans' attitude by saying 'they could not have acted otherwise!'.

150 **ocius - belli**: 'let him sweep away more rapidly the bad seeds of ominous war'. In his final statement, Cotta returns to the subject of money, which had caused Metellus' resistance (118-21). But whereas the poet had implied that not money must be defended but justice, Cotta argues that justice is lost, and consequently that defending the treasure has become pointless. Thus, Libertas' effort to resist Caesar has utterly failed; cf. LEBEK 1976,201. Some younger MSS read *avertant* (A^2BYPW; cf. GOTOFF 1971,145) or *avertet* (UV), but *avertat* is accepted by all modern editors.

ocius: a typical epic adverb; 55 out of 77 cases in poetry figure in epic, especially Silius (32). Verg. A.has 10 cases; Ovid. Met.2; Lucan 2 (here and 9,781); cf. HÅKANSON 1986,38;52-3; for adverbs in BC cf. on 394.

mala semina: of course, gold and money are meant here. Cf. Ov. Met.1,140 *opes, irritamenta malorum. Semen* is used for that which causes or spreads war; cf. 1,159; 6,395. In similar negative contexts, cf. Pl. Rud.327; Liv. 3,19,5; Stat. Theb.4,212; Tac. Ann.6,47. For the ending *semina belli* cf. Claud. 26,26.

151 **si quos - tuentur**: 'if they are *sui iuris*'. For the ending cf. 2,316 *iura tuentem*.

152 **non sibi - egestas**: as often, a sententia concludes the speech. Poverty of slaves, it says, is not at the expense of themselves, but of their master. *Egestas* echoes 132.

153 **protinus - Metello**: the fourth line in succession which is made up by a complete sentence. This produces a clear staccato effect. The line completes the central section of the Metellus scene not only by its rhythm but also by its content: the result of Cotta's speech is that Metellus' weak moral strength is broken. He is removed without further resistance[2]. Lucan's account is extremely brief, as often at the end of sections or scenes; cf. e.g. on 752-62 (3). By its hyperbaton, the temporal

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1. The Comm.Bern. explain the link with the foregoing sentence: 'haec sunt victis solacia ut in omnibus pareas cui in nullo possis resistere'.

2. HOUSMAN says that Metellus is removed by Cotta. But he may equally have been abducted by Caesar's troops. To Lucan this does not seem to be relevant.

ablative absolute *abducto...Metello* suggests the opening of the temple. For the *-o* assonance cf. on 8.

patuerunt: 'opened up' echoes 123-4, and indicates the failure of the tribune's attempt. Most sources say Caesar opened the temple by force[1]: Flor. Epit.2,13,21; Plu. Caes.35,9; App. BC 2,41; D.C. 41,17,2. Lucan has suggested violence in 115 (*revelli*), but here presents the event differently. He may have wished to emphasize Rome's submissiveness and the end of all resistance, as LEBEK 1976,201 rightly argues. See also below on 154 *magno...stridore*.

154-168 The treasures are carried out.

***(1) Summary*:**
With much noise the doors of the temple are opened. The treasures which have been stored for a long time, are all brought out. They partly consist of the spoils of early Roman victories, partly of recent acquisitions by Pompeian generals
***(2) Structure*:**
This scene is the fifth element in the Caesar block 45-168. It rounds off all elements prepared or introduced by the previous scenes in a visual manner. Caesar has marched against his own country like an enemy (45-97), meeting only with submission and badly founded resistance (97-112; 112-153). As a result of this general servility, he can do what he wants: like a real enemy, he plunders the temple of the city he has captured (cf. 99).

The scene is without actors: after the doors are opened (154-5) all attention is focused on the treasures. These are listed in two parts: the older treasures in 157-161 (divided in two groups of three, the second group older than the first), the younger in 162-6 (one group of three, and one isolated element). The scene is concluded with a pointed sententia. (168). On the structure cf. also LEBEK 1976,202-4. The repetitive rhythm of a number of verses filled by a full relative clause structures the text; cf. GASSNER 1972,202-5.

In the second part of the treasures, attention is gradually shifted to the East and the present time. In this way, the scene forms both a link and a contrast to the great catalogue of Pompeian troops from the East in 169ff.
***(3) Historical material*:**
The historians who relate the episode of Metellus (see on 112-153) do not specify the sources of the *aerarium sanctius*[2]. From Liv. 7,16,7 we know the money came from a five per cent tax which a master had to pay when he manumitted a slave, according to the *Lex Manlia* of 357 B.C.; cf. RE XII, s.v. Lex Manlia. Contrary to Lucan's suggestions, spoils were not deposited in the *aerarium sanctius*. Lucan has

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1. Of course, Caesar's own account (Civ.1,33,4) is the exception: it suggests that he left Rome without achieving his aims.

2. App. BC 2,41 does say that the money had been deposited at the time of the early Gallic invasion of Rome. This is not correct.

invented these details, in order to lend additional pathos to the scene; cf. RE I, s.v. *aerarium* 2.

The actual value of the treasury at the time of this opening of the temple is indicated by Plin. Nat.33,35-6 and Oros. 6,15,5. In a rather speculative article, FRANK 1932 argues that it was the equivalent of some 12,000,000 denarii, enough to pay Caesar's legions for several months[1]. Taken together, the treasures listed by Lucan would be worth infinitely more; cf. e.g. on 158.

Some scholars have argued that Lucan alludes to contemporary acts of Nero, such as Nero's sacking temples to raise funds (cf. Tac. Ann.15,45; Suet. Nero 32,4), or the famous fire of Rome in 64 A.D.; cf. GRENADE 1948; BRISSET 1964,187. But book 3 was almost certainly published before 64. In general, such similarities may be due to coincidence[2]. We cannot attain absolute certainty here.

(4) Literary material:

Money is now considered no longer just *pars vilissima rerum*. It is summed up with relevant historical detail, in order to show the meaning of Caesar's act. He is not merely robbing a temple, but ravaging the history of Rome. The first part of the treasures illustrates Rome's glorious distant past, whereas the second symbolizes the achievements of Pompeian generals in the recent past. As such the scene exemplifies the civil war as a whole and illustrates BC's fundamental theme of *patria ruens*.

In BC a great number of catalogues, both large and small, is present. This one belongs to a group of catalogues listing historical persons and facts; cf. 1,37-45; 679-94; 6,306-13; 7,691-7; 871-2; 10,474-78. As GASSNER 1972,182-3 remarks, such catalogues in BC function to intensify the pathos of events. Whereas in Verg. A. the past is a mixture of 'dark' and 'light', closely bound up with the present, in Lucan things are simpler: the distant past is invariably light, whereas present and future are strictly dark. For this scene cf. also NOWAK 1955,19.

Its introductory lines perhaps contain the motif of 'opening of doors': see on 154. For the plundering of temples, cf. also Petr. 124,292 *thensaurosque rapis*. A clear link exists with 399-452, where Caesar does not stop from plundering another sacrosanct place, a wood of the Gauls.

This is the only temple which Caesar actually plunders in BC[3]. His soldiers are dissatisfied with this, considering their disappointment in 5,271 and 7,758-60. (Cf. also 5,305: Caesar would have been prepared to let his soldiers plunder temples, but it proved not necessary). In 10,107-71 Caesar is confronted with the extravagant riches and luxuries of Cleopatra, but these he does not rob. On a higher level, civil war 'plunders' all of Rome's past conquests: cf. 7,416-7.

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1. In general on Caesar's financial policies, cf. JEHNE 1987,68-79, esp.75-76.

2. LEBEK 1976,205-6n58 even reverses the argument: if indeed Nero plundered a temple, Lucan would not have dared to include a scene like this.

3. In 5,529 the plural *templis* is rhetorical.

154 **rupes Tarpeia**: a rock at the south east side of the Capitol, near the *aedes Saturni*. It is called after Tarpeia, who was bribed by Tatius, king of the Sabines, in the days of Romulus. She had been thrown down from this rock, and afterwards all traitors were treated in this way. In BC *Tarpeius* is pars pro toto for *Capitolinus*; cf. 1,196; 5,27; 306; 7,758; 8,863; cf. also Luc.Fr.11 FPL Büchner *Tarpeiam <saevus> cum fregerit arcem / Brennus*[1]. In general, the south side of the Capitol was commonly mentioned *rupes Tarpeia*; cf. COARELLI 1974,40. The Capitol as such can be a symbol for Rome, cf. 5,306; 7,758; 10,63. Caesar has invoked Juppiter and the *Tarpeia rupes* in his prayer in 1,195-203: here he plunders it.

In this context the name may allude especially to the early Gallic invasion of Rome: the ancient Roman conquests which immediately follow (cf. especially *Gallus* in 159), and the history of the *aerarium sanctius* itself (cf. App. BC 2,41, mentioned above) suggest this association. Furthermore, Caesar behaves like a foreign enemy (cf. 46-97); to Romans this associated him with either Hannibal (see on 299) or the Gauls; cf. BELLEN 1985 on the important phenomenon of *metus Gallicus*. Such association of Caesar with Gaul was even easier, as he had conquered that nation in 58-1 B.C.; cf. 2,535 where Pompey says of Caesar: *Gallica per gelidos rabies effunditur Alpes*[2]. In ca.390 B.C. Rome had suffered from an invasion of the Gauls, in which the Capitol had been threatened, but successfully defended[3]. Lucan's Caesar goes further than the Gauls: he takes the spoils. The scholiast of the Adn. a.l. refers to the Gallic invasion as well.

sonat: 'sounds'. The subject is *rupes Tarpeia*. The sound can only be the echo against the slopes of the Capitolium.

magno...stridore: Lucan carefully avoids all references to direct violence; cf. above on 153. The doors are not broken, but they open. The heavy sound reflects the metal of which they were made. This sound of doors is a common motif in Greek and Latin epic: cf. e.g. Hom. Il.5,749; Verg. A.1,449; 6,573; 7,613; Ov. Met.11,608; V.Fl. 2,273; Sil. 3,692; further Enn. Scaen.102 W. Lucan may also have thought here of the motif of doors which open automatically at the approach of a God; cf. Norden on Verg. A.6,81f. This motif was used and varied by Latin epic poets; cf. WILLIAMS 1977; Smolenaars on Stat. Theb.7,69f. It is not absurd to suggest that Caesar acts like a sovereign God, especially if we take into account Lucan's negative attitude towards the Gods. Some words also recall the well known opening of the doors of War in the Janus temple, Verg. A.7,607-22 (cf. e.g. 613 *reserat stridentia limina* with *reseratae* 117 and *stridor*).

155 **testatur**: subject is *rupes Tarpeia*: its echo 'testifies' that the doors are opened.

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1. Recently, LEBEK 1983 has called the authenticity of the fragment into doubt again.

2. For the association of Caesar with Gaul cf. also 3,77; further 1,122; 248; 283; 2,569; 7,286.

3. In 5,27-9 Lentulus refers to a complete conquest of Capitol and Rome by the Gauls: *Tarpeia sede perusta / Gallorum facibus*. In this Lucan apparently follows a variant tradition of the story, as in Enn. Ann.227-8 Sk.; Sil. 4,150-1; 6,555-6; cf. SKUTSCH 1953 and Skutsch on Enn. Ann.228 Sk..

imo...templo: may be constructed as abl.loci with *conditus* or abl.separationis with *eruitur*. For the ending *conditus imo* cf. 618.

156 **multis - annis**: this seems to be correct: the last time the treasury had been used was in 209 B.C.; cf. on 115 *Saturnia templa*.

157 **Romani - populi**: rhythm and words suggest the dignity of the old Rome, as in e.g. Verg. A.1,277; 282. More importantly, since Caesar is taking hold of its possessions, the words suggest that Caesar himself does not belong to the State of Rome. *Census* is 'property' or 'wealth'; for its application to states OLD s.v. 3b compares Ov. Met.15,422; Man. 4,693; Flor. Epit.2,13,21.

quem: the first of a long list of relative pronouns, which specify the treasures stored in the temple. Cf. above on 154-68 (2) for the effect of the rhythm. The anaphora of *quem* and haplothesis of the verb (cf. MAURACH 1983,60) mark the first group of three elements.

Punica bella: other references to these wars in BC: cf. 350; further 2,45-6 and 4,737. For the ending cf. also Sil. 1,621; 6,65. On the money captured after the second Punic war, cf. Liv. 30,37,5; Plin. Nat.33,51. Neither this money, nor other booty, was stored in the *aerarium sanctius*, the sources of which were different; cf. on 154-168 (3).

158 **dederat**: in descriptions the plusquamperfect may be used to denote the status of the object in question; cf. 5,78; 10,128; cf. LUNDQVIST 1907,36; Schmidt on 10,113.

Perses: Perseus, the last king of Macedonia (179-168 B.C.), defeated by Aemilius Paulus at Pydna in 168 B.C.. On two different occasions (2,672; 3,286), Xerxes is equally called *Perses*; the name *Perseus* is used by Lucan for the mythical son of Danae, in 9,660 a.o.. The amount of money captured on this occasion must have been prodigious. Figures range from 120,000,000 sesterces: Liv. 45,40,1-3, to 300,000,000: Plin. Nat.33,56. (Cf. also Vell. 1,9,6; Plu. Aem.32; 38,1.) Pliny and Plutarch say that ever since the citizens of Rome were exempted from tax paying.

Philippi: Philippus V, the father of Perseus, king of Macedonia (221-179 B.C.). After his defeat by T. Quinctius Flamininus in Cynoscephalae in 197 B.C., he remained king of Macedonia as a Roman satellite. On the *praeda* cf. Plb. 18,44,7; Liv. 33,30,7.

159 **tibi, Roma**: another apostrophe to Rome, cf. on 96. Rome is frequently apostrophized; cf. e.g. 1,21; 85; 200; 519; 670; 2,56[1]. In general, apostrophe is used increasingly by Latin poets, both for metrical convenience, and to lend additional pathos to the text: according to HAMPEL 1908 (quoted by Williams on Stat. Theb.10,498); in general cf. ZYROFF 1971. Lucan has more than three times as many as Vergil (one in 56 lines and one in 180 lines respectively); Ov.Met. has one in 120 lines; Stat. 111; Sil.108; V.Fl. 93); cf. further Norden on Verg. A.6,14ff; KLIEN 1946,101-5; VIANSINO 1974,47-75; MARTI 1975,82-4.

Gallus: all MSS read *Pyrrhus*, which is retained by many editors and defended by BLATT 1959,52-3. But according to HOUSMAN *fuga trepidante* does not suit

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[1]. The first example of such a direct address to Rome seems to be Hor. Carm.4,4,37.

Pyrrhus at all, whereas it goes well with the Gauls (cf. Liv. 5,49,5 *Galli nova re trepidi*). The reading *Pyrrhus* may originally have been an interlinear gloss to *regi* in the next line, inserted into the text. It may be added that in this section each clause seems to deal with a separate event (cf. on 154-68 (2)), and Pyrrhus is already alluded to in the next line. HOUSMAN's conjecture has been accepted by FRAENCKEL 1926,282; DUFF, SHACKLETON BAILEY and BADALI 1988[1].

With *Gallus* Lucan would be referring to the Gauls who attacked Rome in 390 B.C. (cf. above on 154 *rupes Tarpeia*). The money in question consisted of 1,000 pounds of gold. This had been the price demanded by the Gauls to stop their siege of the Capitol. Camillus had prevented the transaction to be completed, and after a decisive battle the gold was recaptured; cf. Liv. 5,48,7-49,1; 50,6; Plu. Cam.28,4-29; Plin. Nat.33,14.

160 **quo - auro**: 'the gold for which Fabricius did not sell you to the king'. King Pyrrhus of Epirus, who is meant here, did not succeed in bribing the Roman general Fabricius (on whom see below); cf. Plu. Pyrrh.20,2-3; App. Sam.10,4; D.C. 9,34ff; cf. also Sen. Ep.98,13; 120,6; RE VI,2,1935. Lucan implies that the gold he had used on that occasion was captured by the Romans after Manius Curius had defeated Pyrrhus at Beneventum in 275 B.C.; on the spoils cf. Flor. Epit.1,13,27.

The verse is quoted by Acro on Hor. Carm.1,12,35. For the ending cf. 4,97 *venditor auro*. The MSS show some varieties of the text, the most important one being *quod* (MZABR, cf. GOTOFF 1971,158) instead of *quo*. The antecedent *auro* is attracted by *quo*.

Fabricius: C. Fabricius Luscinus (consul in 282 B.C. en 278 B.C.) became a proverbial example of frugality and contentment: OTTO 1890,129 provides a long list of texts where Fabricius occurs in this way (in general cf. RE VI 2,1931-1938). In poetry cf. Verg. A.6,843-4; Hor. Carm.1,12,40; Man. 1,787; Juv. 2,154; Mart. 9,28,4 a.o.. In Lucan he appears once again in 10,152, together with similar virtuous Romans such as Curius and Cincinnatus.

161 **quidquid - avorum**: another apostrophe; cf. on 159; for apostrophe of abstracta cf. on 121. The *mores parcorum avorum* do not point to one particular foreign success, but to the alleged traditional virtues of the Roman people itself, such as frugality, simplicity and honesty[2]. In BC Cato (on whom see below) is their main exponent; cf. 2,380-91.

162 **quod dites - tributum**: in 133 B.C. king Attalus III Philometor of Pergamon bequeathed his realm with all its riches to Rome; cf. Plu. TG 14,1-2; Flor. Epit.1,25,2; Str. 13,4,2. For *Asiae populi* cf. 10,30; Man. 4,671.

163 **Minoia**: 'of king Minos', hence: 'of Crete'. Cf. 5,406; Verg. A.6,14; Sil. 2,107. For the type of adjectives, cf. OBERMEIER 1886,46; LHS II,60; on Crete cf. also 185.

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1. FRANCKEN proposed *Brennus*, probably thinking of Luc. Frg.11 Buechner or Liv. 5,38,3. WIDDOWS renders 'Brennus the Gaul'.

2. Juppiter is called *morumque priorum numen* (9,520-1) because he defends his shrine in Ammon against Roman gold.

Metello· Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus, consul in 69 B C, conquerer of Crete in 68-66 B.C.. Cf. RE III,1210-2; BROUGHTON 1952,131. His triumph was postponed till 62 B.C, due to conflicts with Pompey (cf. Cic. Pis.58, Vell. 2,34,2; App Sic 6) He is not to be confused with the Metellus in the foregoing scene, but Lucan may have intended the parallel of their names.

164 **quod - Cypro**: 'what Cato brought across the sea, all along from Cyprus'. In 58 B C Cato was sent off to Cyprus against his will, to transfer the treasures of the new province Cyprus to Rome. For political reasons, Clodius had proposed this law which forced Cato to leave Rome for some time. Cf. Plu Cat.Mi 34-6 (esp 36,4 on the booty), Cic. Sest.60-2; D.C. 38,30,5, Vell. 2,45,4-5, Flor. Epit 1,44,5. *Longinqua* belongs to the abl separationis *Cypro*, BOURGERY's version '. de Chypre par les mers lointaines' is simply wrong

Cato. one of the main characters in BC, next to Caesar and Pompey. However, in the first tetrad he plays only a minor role. He has been introduced at some length in 2,234-391[1], and will not reappear until book 9. This explains why Lucan only briefly mentions him here Traditionally, Lucan's Cato is considered a Stoic saint, the model of virtue in a corrupt world, cf. ADATTE 1964, VIARRE 1982; BROUWERS 1989, further BILLERBECK 1985,3123-6, COLISH 1985,270-5; HARICH 1990. But JOHNSON 1987,35-66 has shown that Cato may also be considered as a caricature of outdated ideals[2]. In general on Cato in Roman literature, cf. PECCHIURA 1965 and GOAR 1987, on the historical Cato· FEHRLE 1983.

165 **tunc - egeritur**: 'then the riches of the East, the far-fetched wealth of captive kings, which had been carried along in triumphs of Pompey, was brought out.' Between 66 and 62 B C Pompey established (or re-established) order in many areas, such as Pontus, Armenia, the area between the Black and the Caspian sea, Syria and Judea In 61 B C. he brought back an immense amount of booty, cf. Plu Pomp 45,3 (20,000 talents of gold and coined money), Plin. Nat 37,16-7, further App Mith 116, D C. 37,21. Pompey himself speaks about his achievements in 2,583-95 For his triumphs, cf. on 20.

After the acts of Cato and Metellus Creticus it comes as no surprise that the list of Roman successes culminates in Pompey's glorious achievements in the East. Lines 165-7 are clearly distinguished from the rest, as they have their own predicate (*egeritur*), and do not form part of a triad, like all preceding treasures. The contrast

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1 Early in book 1 his name appears in the famous line *victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni* (1,128), but only as a rhetorical contrast

2 Surely, a section like 2,350 91 can hardly be considered an entirely serious portrait of a virtuous hero But in book 9 there seems to be less satire Perhaps we may say that Cato's character and morals are partly a caricature, but his deeds are viewed with some genuine admiration as well Similar observations can be made concerning Lucan's Caesar and Pompey

of Pompey's proud triumph with Caesar's merciless aggression could hardly have been greater[1].

captorum...regum: among the prisoners marching in Pompey's triumph, listed in App. Mith.117 and Plu. Pomp.45,4, Aristobulos of Judea is the only real king. But many 'leaders' and relatives of kings are said to have figured in the triumph.

ultima: HASKINS compares 1,314 *extremi... clientes*. The Comm.Bern. explain as 'ab ultima orbis parte adlata'.

166 **gaza**: seems to be originally a Persian word, often used for royal wealth, especially form the East. Cf. 7,742 *Eoas...gazas*; Lucr. 2,37; Catul. 64,46; Verg. A.1,119; 2,763 with Austen's comment; 5,40; Hor. Carm.1,29,1-2; further TLL VI, 1721-2.

167 **egeritur**: the enjambement seems deliberate here. The verb occurs with words such as *aurum* (e.g. Tac. Ann.15,45,2; Curt. 10,1,33); or *pecunia* (e.g. Liv. 30,39,7); cf. TLL V,2,242,24ff.

spoliantur - rapina: after *eruitur* and *egeritur* Lucan becomes fully explicit: Caesar plunders the temple. Cf. 5,305; 7,752 *spoliato mundo*; 10,169. For *spoliare* with a place as object cf. OLD s.v.4; in Verg. A. the word occurs only in its normal context of battle or competition. The evaluative *tristi* lends an additional subjective colour to this *rapina* which Metellus had tried to prevent (see 121).

Lines 167-8 are given by BRQYGV (in BR and A^2 following 165), but are missing in ZMAUPE; cf. GOTOFF 1971,145. The lines are undoubtedly authentic and it remains unclear why they have been omitted in so many MSS; cf. LUCK 1969,274.

168 **pauperior - Roma**: in the concluding line, a fine Lucanean paradox, Caesar himself is named at last. The Roman successes mentioned until now were also symbols for Rome and Pompey. Here, Caesar takes them all. In its radical tone, the line parallels 108 *omnia Caesar erat* or 1,175 *plus patria potuisse sua*.

Caesar probably refers only to Julius Caesar, not to later Roman emperors, as LEBEK 1976 rightly argues. Nonetheless, we may feel tempted to detect a political allusion in this line, especially because of *tum primum* (cf. e.g. 5,386). Possibly, Lucan is deliberately ambiguous. On *sententiae* ending a scene, cf. BONNER 1960,266-7.

169-297 Pompey raises troops in the East.

(1) Summary:
Meanwhile, Pompey had started to raise troops in the East. Greece comes first, followed by numerous peoples of the near and far East. Not even Xerxes or Agamemnon has ever disposed of such an enormous army.
(2) Structure:
This long catalogue of troops forms the second main block in book 3. Its main character is Pompey again (as in 1-45). It is placed amidst Caesar-blocks (Caesar in

[1]. As Lucan has indicated before, Caesar has not entered Rome in triumph: cf. 79.

Rome, 46-168; Caesar in Massilia, 297-762). This and its monumental character indicate its primary function: it serves as a pathetic contrast to the actions of the dominating Caesar, and pictures the background of the war in the books to come. The block has been prepared by 2,628-49 where Pompey asks his son to raise troops, but also, by contrast, by 153-168 where the 'Pompeian' treasures of Rome have been enumerated.

The block is constructed fairly simply, compared to other scenes in BC 3. It consists of just one scene, divided into two main sections and a finale. In the first (169-228), Greece, Thrace, Asia Minor, Syria and coastal areas of the near East are dealt with. The second section (229-283) elaborates on the far East: Indians, tribes living near the Red Sea, Scythians and Sarmatians. The block is rounded off by an impressive historical comparison (284-297); cf. KÜHLMANN 1973,292-4; MITCHEL 1973,49. At the beginning and the end, the poet refers to the global aspect of the conflict and the future defeat of the troops involved; cf. 169-70 and 297[1].

The block as a whole is completely static: we are not supposed to picture the armies as actually 'gathering'. In the absence of action, the scene is developed on different levels. Geography is the main line, with attention shifting from Greece to the East (cf. ECKARDT 1936,5-10 for a detailed analysis[2]). But the names appear in a rather desultory order, especially in the second part. This order is determined to a great extent by principles of literary composition, such as striving after antithesis and constant variation in syntactical structure, metre and content; cf. GASSNER 1972,151-174. Through these and other techniques the poet keeps up the impression of great turbulence and movement, and gradually brings the tension to a climax.

***(3) Historical material*:**

Lucan's catalogue of Pompey's forces is by far the most elaborate, although Caes. 3,3-5 and App. BC 2,49 and 70-1 provide many details as well. Cf. further Flor. Epit.2,13,44 (giving extremely high figures); Cic.Att.9,9,2 (fleet); D.C. 41,55; Plu. Pomp.64; Vell. 2,51,1.

Caesar's account is cool and military: it starts with the fleet, continues with the various troops, specifying numbers and commanders, and ends with details on logistics and the commanders of the fleet. Several geographical names of his list do not occur in Lucan's, e.g. Lacedaemon, Gallia, Macedonia a.o.. Perhaps most strikingly, Caesar and Appian actually list Pompey's forces well after Caesar's march to Massilia and Spain, just before Caesar sets sail to Epirus (book 5 in Lucan)[3]. Cf. further below on (4). On Lucan's use of historical material in the catalogue cf. GASSNER 1972,141-51. In addition to historical material, Lucan must have used

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1. ECKARDT 1936,3-5 considers this a 'Ringkomposition', but this does not seem to be the proper term here, as only the beginning and the end correspond.

2. On the whole ECKARDT's analysis is very useful. But her theory that Lucan worked along the fixed scheme of a Periplous is far from certain.

3. However, Caesar hints at the possibility of this recruitment much earlier: Civ. 1,29.

geographical and ethnographical sources, e.g. Pomponius Mela, Posidonius, Apollodorus or Megasthenes; cf. BAEUMER 1902,21-36; THOMAS 1982,117-8.

Pompey's decision to invoke foreign aid was widely met with astonishment or disapproval: cf. e.g. Cic. Att.8,11,2; 9,10,3; D.C. 41,13,3; a somewhat more discreet allusion is Verg. A.6,831 *gener adversis instructus Eois*; cf. also Luc. 7,526-7; JAL 1962b,30-5[1].

***(4) Literary material*:**

Lucan's catalogue bears many literary characteristics, compared to Caesar's. Not strategic function, but geographical partition forms the main principle. Generally speaking, the poet mentions just the name of a people or of its geographical position. He provides hardly any relevant military details, like exact numbers[2], motivation, gathering places and the roads taken towards them, actual arms or the commanders in charge. In all of this Lucan departs from the historical sources, but also from the epic tradition, in which such details were regularly mentioned in catalogues; cf. GASSNER 1972,142-3.

Several names of Caesar's list are missing (cf. above), but some of Lucan's names are not mentioned by Caesar, e.g. the Indians and the Aethiopians. Such tribes of the far East were added by Lucan, probably because of their fascinating exotic ring. Latin poets widely used exotic names for the purpose of decoration; cf. THOMSON 1951; SYME 1987.

Lucan moved the catalogue of Pompey's forces to a much earlier point in his work (cf. above on Caesar and Appian). This enabled him to picture Pompey as a still formidable antagonist for Caesar. On a formal level, the insertion of a static scene in the middle of book 3, disrupts the historical continuity of Caesar's successes and broadens the scope of the work as a whole (cf. below).

In the catalogue several shorter excursus on traditional subjects have been inserted (the Argo, 193-7; the invention of writing, 220-4; Alexander the Great, 233-4; Indians who kill themselves by fire, 241-3; the Tanais as border of Asia and Europe, 274-6). But in fact many more lines provide decorative details. All of these elements amplify the description, and broaden the scale, so as to encompass the whole world. The civil war, with its theme of *patria ruens* is thus transposed and amplified to cosmic dimensions. For this cosmic aspect cf. ECKARDT 1936,1756,esp. 48-56; RUTZ 1950,17; GASSNER 1972,159-64[3].

The catalogue as a whole also serves this purpose: it is subordinated to the work as a whole, and highlights its pathetic theme. On this basic function of the entire

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1. Of course, Caesar was censured for the same reason. On barbarians in BC in general cf. DAUGE 1981,191-8.

2. From Caes. Civ.3,88-89 some idea may be derived as to the extent of the troops eventually involved in the war. At Pharsalus, Pompey is said to dispose of 110 cohorts, that is some 47,000 men (2,000 veterans included); Caesar had 80 cohorts, some 22,000 men. Lucan mentions numbers only with a specific rhetorical purpose, such as in 183. Cf. also App. BC 2,70.

3. Similarly, in Verg. A.6,791-805 the conquests of Augustus are described in terms suggesting a world wide empire, surpassing the extent of Hercules' and Bacchus' travels.

catalogue, which is different from Vergil (in whose work catalogues are thematically more integrated in the context) and other epic poets, cf. GASSNER 1972,173-4. On catalogues in Homer, mainly designed to give 'real' information; cf. BEYE 1964; KÜHLMANN 1973,28-95; in Vergil: cf. LESKY 1970; KÜHLMANN,180-269; BASSON 1975; BASSON 1982; in Ovid, where they also become a play with forms and language: POESCHL 1963; KÜHLMANN,270-83. A visible element of Lucan's changes is that he has omitted the traditional invocation to the Muses at the beginning of his catalogue (cf. Hom. Il.2,484-93; A.R. 1,22; Verg. A.7,641; 10,163). After Lucan, the catalogue remains a standard epic device, but later poets tend to follow the traditional Vergilian model rather than the Lucanean (for invocations cf. Stat. Theb.4,1; Sil. 3,222). Cf. also Smolenaars on Stat. Theb.7,243-73.

A very obvious link exists with the catalogue of Caesar's forces from Gaul in 1,392-465. Both catalogues list foreign aid invoked by the protagonists of the BC, and are developed roughly along the same lines. Cf. ECKARDT 1936,17-36; SYNDIKUS 1958,56-7; GASSNER 1972,138-74; KÜHLMANN 1973,285-91[1]. The West and the East are both involved in civil war. In other passages all of nature seems to partake in it: cf. 4,48-120; 5,504-721.

Several allusions to Pompey's eastern troops and former glories in the East can be found in the later books of BC: cf. 7,221-34; 272-80; 526-7; 540-2; 8,206-38 (after Pharsalus)[2]; 316-21. Cf. also 2,583-95 (Pompey's eastern victories); 628-49. This constant stress on eastern military force also suggests once more Lucan's idea of a weak and desolated Italy.

Catalogues and lists occur throughout BC. The most famous ones, apart from the texts mentioned up to now, are the section on Italy's geography, 2,392-438; and the catalogue of snakes, 9,700-33; on the latter see LAUSBERG 1990.

Generally speaking, this catalogue has not been well received by scholars. It is often classified as a tedious and much too long 'excursus'. Especially scholars who stick to the idea that 'acts' and 'events' are the main things an epic should be concerned with, and scholars who will not tolerate any departure from Vergilian standards, find fault with Lucan's static display of the cosmic dimensions of the war. A rare exception is GASSNER 1972,206 (in general: 211) who rightly argues that the catalogues make up a large deal of the 'Eindringlichkeit' of BC.

(5) Imitations:

This catalogue is echoed in Petrarch's *Africa* 2,193-212, in which Pompey's forces are described in similar fashion.

169 interea: a word regularly used by Lucan to connect a scene with simultaneous events to the previous text; cf. 2,326; 392; 526 (not in first position); 5,237; 9,167[3]. Vergil

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1. VIANSINO 1974,94-96 on Lucan's catalogues is rather disappointing.

2. In Pompey's words it seems as if the East had not yet delivered any troops at all.

3. An alternative means is the use of *iam* with a plusquamperfect, as in 40; 84; 514f; see on 40.

had made a much more extensive use of this word (73 times; Lucan has 9 cases) and had used it in a variety of functions; cf. REINMUTH 1933; KINSEY 1979. In BC the word regains its former simplicity again. From the historian's point of view, *interea* is not strictly accurate, considering Lucan's transposition of the catalogue to an earlier point in the course of events (cf. above on 160-297 (4)).

totum...per orbem: this literally involves 'the whole world' in the conflict between Caesar and Pompey; cf. above on 169-297 (4)[1]. The cosmic dimension of the war is constantly emphasized: cf. e.g. 1,5-6; 2,225-6; 5,160; 228-30; 6,6; 7,46; 89; 108-9; 274-85; 8,600-4. It may also take the form of a world wide natural catastrophe, as in 4,48-120 (floods); or 5,597-677 (storm), or it may resemble the enormous proportions of the Gigantomachia, for which see on 315. A combination of *totus* with *orbis* (in final position) as in the present text is very frequent, cf. 230; further 1,5; 22; 110; 166; 318; 538; 692; 2,280, to mention only a few examples; cf. also Verg. A.1,457; 4,231; 7,258; Petr. 119,1.

Magni fortuna: on Pompey and his relation to *fortuna* see on 21. Most editors (except EHLERS) print the word without a capital here, arriving at translations such as 'the reputation of Magnus' (DUFF); 'die Hoffnung auf Pompeius Glück' (LUCK); or the rather weak 'la fortune de Pompée' (BOURGERY). DUFF's version seems to be the best.

170 **secum casuras**: strictly speaking, *secum* must refer to *Magni fortuna*, as HOUSMAN explains, but probably Lucan's grammar is more loose here, and only *Magnus* is meant. For the ominous *casuras* cf. on *numquam reditura* in 6. From the very beginning of the catalogue the outcome of the conflict is clear. The poet eliminates all suspense in favour of other aims, such as pathos and geographical variety.

moverat: the first of a long series of dynamic verbs, which along with the variety of names, rhythm and syntax, aim at keeping up the tension in this highly static scene.

(orbem...) urbes: Roman authors often play with the words *urbs* and *orbis*, in the context of the Roman empire said to comprise 'the whole world'; cf. CHRIST 1938,81-3. Cf. Cic. Catil.1,9; Prop. 3,11,57; Ov. Fast.2,684; Ars 1,174; Vell. 2,44,1. It has survived in the official language of the state and church. Even today the pope gives his blessing *urbi et orbi*. Perhaps Lucan echoes the Roman word play here, replacing *urbs* (Rome) with *urbes* (foreign cities).

171 **vicino...bello**: probably not 'her neighbour's war' (DUFF), but 'the war (which was taking place at that moment) nearby', or, less likely, 'the battle (which was to take place) nearby'[2]. *Vicino* reinforces *proxima*; Lucan seems to intend a contrast with the eastern tribes mentioned hereafter, who send troops to a 'distant' war. For the homoeoteleuton cf. on 8.

Graecia: before 60 A.D. Lucan made a journey through Greece; cf. Vita Lucani 1,4 *revocatus Athenis*. He may have visited several of the places included in this part

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1. On this technique of 'isolating' protagonists, and reducing the whole world to the background, cf. also Mayer on 8,1-108 (p.82).

2. The last interpretation, supported by the Comm.Bern., would imply a reference to Pharsalus.

of the catalogue. *Graecia* occurs only here and 2,164, but the adjective *Graius* and the substantivated *Graii* are frequent: in BC 3 cf. 302; 478 a.o.. By a curious mistake, the common name *Graecia* has been replaced in several MSS (Z^2ABRW; cf. GOTOFF 1971,116) by *gratia*, which makes no sense at all.

172 **Phocaicas**: Lucan starts his catalogue with the land of Delphi, the reputed centre of the world (cf. 5,71). He uses *Phocaicus* both in relation to *Phocis* in Greece (here and 5,144; cf. Ov. Met.2,569) and to *Phocaia* in Asia Minor (561; 583; 728; cf. Ov. Met.6,9) and its colony Massilia. Cf. also on 301 *Phocais*; and 340 *Phocidos*. SHACKLETON BAILEY's index s.v. wrongly explains the present case as *Massiliensis*.

Amphissa: a city in Phocis, northwest of Delphi; cf. Hdt. 8,32. It occurs only here in BC and is not mentioned in other classical Latin poetry. The Homeric catalogue mentions Phocaeans from several other places (Il.2,517-26).

scopulosaque Cirrha: *Cirrha* is a city in Phocis, serving as harbour of Delphi. It is closely related to *Crisa*, mentioned in Hom. Il.2,520 (cf. also h.Hom. h.Ap.269; 282; 446) but not identical to it. Lucan uses it as synonym for Delphi in 5,137 (cf. also *Cirrhaeus* in 1,64; 5,95; a.o.). For the name cf. Livy 42,15,5; Stat. Theb.7,346-7. The name *Cirrha* does not occur in Homer or in Roman poetry before Lucan. Cf. further RE II,1887-92. *Scopulosa* echoes Hom. Il.2,519 *Puthôna te petrèessan*.

173 **Parnasos**: the Parnassus[1] is a famous mountain north of Delphi, the dwelling place of Apollo and the Muses. By *iugo... utroque* Lucan refers to the two tops it is reputed to have; cf. 5,72 *gemino colle*; 78; further e.g. S. Ant.1126; E. Ph.226-8; Ba.307; in Latin poetry first in Ov. Met.1,316 *verticibus duobus* (cf. Bömer's comment a.l.); 2,221; further Culex 15-7; Sen. Oed.227; 281; Pers. Prol.2. Actually it is not clear to which two tops the ancients refer; according to Van Amerongen on 5,72 it is to the appearance in Delphi of the so called Phaedriads, two steep cliffs (1000-1300 mts.high), between which the Castalia flowed. The ancient scholia say the two tops are the Helicon and the Cythaeron. *Parnasos* is described by Lucan in 5,71-85 and mentioned in 5,131.

desertus: the mountain is said to be deserted. It is implied that this is due to the sending of troops to Pompey, as in 214.

174 **Boeoti duces**: this clearly recalls Homer's catalogue, which begins with the Boeotians (Il.2,494-516), and pays special attention to their leaders. Boeotia is a region in central Greece, to the north of Attica. For troops from Boeotia in Pompey's army, cf. Caes. Civ.3,4; App. BC 2,49; 70.

coiere: as the subject is changed from a geographical site to persons, the verb is changed too. In addition, it has been transposed to the beginning of the sentence. As GASSNER 1972,154 observes, groups of verses where the verb stand at the beginning alternate with those where the verb comes near the end. As a result of such small variations the succession of troops leaves the impression of constant movement.

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1. The name is variously spelled as *Parnasos* (Lucan, Persius, Seneca), *Parnasus* (most classical poets), or *Parnassus*; cf. SWANSON 1967,244.

impiger: here the attribute of a river, as in Flor. Epit.1,37,4; cf. OLD s.v.3; TLL VII,1,614. More than any predecessor the poet Lucan has a particular interest in rivers, on which see MENDELL 1941. Although rivers may be said to belong to Greco-Roman epic (cf. Hor. Ars 14-8) their role in Homer is only marginal. Due to the influence of historiography and lyric, Roman epic poets increasingly make use of rivers to denote a place or add poetical colour to their text. Lucan has one river in every 40 lines (Vergil had only 1 in 100), often in a prominent place. He probably used some manual, but influence of Ovid is noticeable too: out of 23 rivers in the catalogue 13 figure in Ov. Met.2,239-59, five others appearing elsewhere in the Met. (MENDELL,16). After Lucan, epic poets concentrated on finding river names which had not been used in epic before. Lucan's fancy for rivers appealed especially to Medieval readers; cf. SANFORD 1934,10.

175 **Cephisos**: a river in Phocis and Boeotia, mentioned by Hom. Il.2,522-3 and Ov. Met.3,19. Its water is said to be *fatidica* not because of Delphi or Mount Parnassus, as the scholia say, but probably because of a temple of Themis where oracles were given; cf. Ov. Met.1,369-94. Lucan's expression for the Cephisus is quoted by Lactant. on Stat. Theb.7,340.

Dirce: a small river in Thebes, not mentioned by Homer or Vergil, but cf. Ov. Met.2,239. It is called *Cadmea* as Thebes had been founded by Cadmus, for whom cf. 189; 4,549-56 (with 4,550 *Dircaeus* for *Thebanus*).

176 **Pisaeaeque manus**: another variation, instead of *Pisa* or *Pisaeae duces*. Pisa is a region in Elis, mentioned in Verg. G.3,180. The adjective *Pisaeus* (cf. 2,165) is used by several Roman poets. It should not be confused with Pisae in Italy (2,401; cf. Verg. A.10,179). With Pisa, Lucan has shifted attention to the Peloponnese, which is also mentioned by App. BC 2,70 (Caes. Civ.3,4 mentions *Achaia*).

populisque - aquas: 'and the Alpheos which carries his water under the sea to the nations of Sicily'. It is not clear which verb must be taken with *Alpheos*. Lucan introduces the various eastern nations mainly in two ways: (1) as subject or object (frequently with ellipse of the verb) (2) by mention of their dwelling-place or some other geographic feature. Translating sentences where the two types are mixed, as here, requires taking some liberties. It seems best to assume a loose connection with *Pisaeaeque manus*: 'troops from Pisa and from the Alpheos'.

The Alpheos, a river in Elis, is mentioned several times by Homer and Vergil, e.g. Il.2,592; A.10,179; G.3,180. For the story, based on the myth of the god Alpheos pursuing the nymph Arethusa (Ov. Met.5,572-641), cf. Verg. A.3,694-5 (on the isle of Ortygia near Sicily): *Alpheum fama est huc Elidis amnem / occultas egisse vias subter mare, qui nunc / ore, Arethusa, tuo Siculis confunditur undis*; further Verg. Ecl.10,4-5; Sen. Nat.3,26,5-6; 6,8,2; Plin. Nat. 2,225; 31,55 Str. 6,2,4; Pi. N.1,1-4.

177 **tum**: a regular connecting element, also used in 187 (*tunc*); 197 and 249.

Maenala: mountains in Arcadia, also used several times in Verg. Ecl. (e.g.10,15); Ov. (e.g. Fast.5,89 with Bömer's comment) and others. For the plural cf. Ov. Met.1,216; Verg. Ecl.10,55; G.1,17. The name is not mentioned by Homer.

liquit: after *desertus* in 173 another verb suggesting desolation; cf. further 180; 197; 225; 246. The variant *linquit* of Z^2ABRUPEJ (cf. GOTOFF 1971,116) seems

equally possible, considering that Lucan uses both perfect and present forms in this section. However, *liquit* has better MSS authority.

178 **Arcas**: many names of tribes in the catalogue appear in the singular. For a list of similar cases, cf. GREGORIUS 1893,40-1. This is the last name from the Peloponnese Lucan mentions. Significantly, he omits Lacedaemon (cf. Caes. Civ.3,4; App. BC 2,70) which may have sounded too familiar.

Herculeam...Oeten: suddenly, Lucan jumps to the famous mountain in central Greece, near Thessalia, where Hercules died. It does not occur in Homer, but is popular in tragedy and other genres. Roman poets normally spell *Oeta*, the Greek form being used only by Lucan (here; 7,449; 8,800) and Sil. 3,43.

Trachinius: from the city of Trachin in Thessalia, mentioned in 6,353. The adjective is also used by Ov. and Stat..

179 **Thesproti**: another jump, to a tribe in Epirus, known from Hom. Od.14,315 a.o., but not mentioned by classical Latin poets. Only Sil. 15,297 has the adjective *Thesprotia*.

Dryopes: a tribe living near Mount Oeta; cf. Verg. A.4,146; Ov. Ib.488; Stat. Theb.4,122. The rather uncommon names in this line are terribly messed up in some MSS, including MZ.

ruunt: an extremely dynamic verb, standing amidst more neutral ones.

quercusque silentis: a reference to the oracle of Zeus at Dodona (indicated by *Chaonio...vertice* in 180) in Epirus, which had been destroyed in 219 B.C., and is named in 441 and 6,427. Its silence is also attested to by Str. 7,7,9. Cf. 5,69-70; 111-4 and 131-40 for the silence of the oracle of Delphi. The words depend on *liquerunt* in 180.

180 **Chaonio...vertice**: ablative of place. Chaonia is a region in Epirus, in which Dodona is situated. For its name cf. Verg. A.3,335; Dodona itself is mentioned by Hom. Il.2,750.

Selloe: known from Hom. Il.16,234[1]; S. Tr.1167; Arist. Mete.352b1; Plin. Nat.4,2. As often, Lucan uses the Greek plural form. He is the only Latin poet who uses the name. They are probably not called *veteres* because they reached remarkably old ages, but because they had been settled in that region for a long time.

181 **exhausit - carinae**: 'although Athens was completely drained by the levy, just a few vessels reached the dockyard of Phoebus, and three ships claimed credence for the story of Salamis.' The short section on Athens has puzzled many older commentators. Most of the difficulties they raised have been answered by PICHON 1915 and HOUSMAN a.l.. What Lucan seems to say, is that Athens could send just a few vessels: only three of them joined Pompey's forces, thus discrediting the story of the Athenians' glorious victory near Salamis. The interpretation (dating back to the Scholia) that only three ships *remained* in Athens, suggests that many ships had actually left and so spoils the point.

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1. Hsch. a.l. spells *Helloi*. Cf. Str. 7,7,10.

Athens figures in the Homeric catalogue with no less than 50 ships, Il.2,546-56. The poet probably implies a contrast to this literary model[1]. Athenian ships among Pompey's forces are mentioned by Caes. Civ.3,3[2]. Ancient Athens is praised in 5,52, and scorned by Alexander in 10,29. In the first century B.C. it had lost much of its prestige, especially after it had been plundered by Sulla in 86 B.C..

182 **exiguae**: not 'small' (still supported by NUTTING 1931b,277) but 'few'. The size of the ships is irrelevant here. Cf. TLL V,2,1473,52.

Phoebea tenent navalia: *navalia* are 'docks', as in 227; 520 and 755. Hardly anything is known about ancient docks at all; cf. CASSON 1971,365. It has been thought that *Phoebea navalia* must refer to Athens itself (cf. Scholia; PICHON 1915 and BOURGERY's note a.l.), although no special dedication of Athens' docks to Phoebos is documented. But *tenere navalia* is a technical expression indicating the result of a movement (cf. 755-6 *navalia paucae / praecipiti tenuere fuga*). Therefore, it seems better to interpret it as poetical description for some harbour where Pompey's forces gathered. Burmann proposed *Apollonia*, a suggestion supported by HOUSMAN; DUFF; GASSNER 1972,161n1. That harbour is described by D.C. 41,45 and mentioned as one of Pompey's winter camps by Caes. Civ.3,5; for its Apollo temple cf. Paus. 5,22,3; Str. 7,6.

183 **tres**: the only number in the catalogue. But not even this single detail seems correct. The Comm.Bern. on 182 quote a fragment of Livy's book 109: *nam Athenienses de tanta maritima gloria vix duas naves effecere*. But *tres* was used in Latin for 'a small number', as PICHON 1915,59 has shown, comparing Pl. Mil.1020 *tribus verbis*; Ov. Pont.4,3,26.

veram - carinae: perhaps also an allusion to Hor. c.1,7,29 *ambiguam Salamina*; Sen. Tro.844; v.l. in Man.5,50. For the thought cf. Flor. Epit.1,24,13, quoted by HOUSMAN[3]. In BC there is no clear distinction between myth and history. Throughout the catalogue, elements from both spheres stand side by side, used to the same rhetorical ends; cf. GASSNER 1972,148-1.

184 **dilecta Iovi**: an allusion to the well known tale about Zeus hidden and educated in Crete. The name *Juppiter* occurs 24 times (in BC 3 cf. 318). Lucan reduces the mythological element to a merely ornamental attribute. For the story cf. also Lucr. 2,633-9; Verg. G.4,149-52; Ov. Fast.4,203-14.

centenis: the distributive numeral here takes the place of the plain numeral *centum*, as in Verg. A.10,566; Sen. Her.F.300; Phaed.150; cf. TLL III,816,24. Similarly, in 8,445 *septeno* is used instead of *septem*; in general LHS II,212-3. For

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1. In the Homeric text, Aias from Salamis comes immediately after the Athenians. To Lucan, this too may have suggested the idea of alluding to the battle of Salamis.

2. App. BC 2,70 mentions Athenian forces, but adds that these were ordered not to harm either party, because of religious reasons.

3. The emendation *olim celebrem* instead of *veram credi*, proposed by GOETHALS 1940 is entirely superfluous, since the text is perfectly sound.

the hundred cities of Crete, cf. Hom. Il.2,649 *Krètèn hekatompolin*; further Hor. Epod.9,29; Carm.3,27,33-4; Ov. Ep.10,67; Sen. Tro.820.

185 **Creta**: also mentioned by Caes. Civ.3,4 and App. BC 2,49; 71; cf. Hom. Il.2,645-52; Verg. A.3,104-6. The name of Crete is illustrated by two of its cities, *Cnosos* and *Gortyna*, which are the first two cities of Crete in the Homeric catalogue (Il.2,646). - *Que* after *Cnosos* is explicative. For periphrases and poetic names of Crete in Vergil, cf. VAN WEES 1970,27-9.

agitare pharetras: poetical for 'handling the arch' or 'shooting arrows'. Literally, a *pharetra* is a 'quiver'. Creta was famous for its archers, and bows and arrows are often labelled 'Cretan' (cf. 6,214), sometimes without any concrete relation with Crete; cf. Ov. Met.8,22 (with Bömer's note). However, they are also typical of eastern peoples, hence *Eois* in 186.

186 **docta**: the word is constructed with an infinitive, as in 5,382; Lucr. 5,961; Hor. Carm.1,29,9 *doctus sagittas tendere*; Tib.1,7,20.

nec Eois - sagittis: 'and Gortyna which is not inferior to the arrows of the East'. For the arrows of the East in BC cf. 7,515; 8,294-305. The line was imitated by Sil. 2,100 *Eois quamquam certet Gortyna sagittis*; see also V.Fl. 1,708.

187 **tum**: HOUSMAN's cautious suggestion for the MSS' *tunc* is finally adopted into the text by SHACKLETON BAILEY. Cf. HOUSMAN on 1,490.

qui...tenet: Lucan also uses the Vergilian device of periphrastic formulas. Some of them come from Vergil (as in 191 *qui...colunt*; or 237 *qui...bibunt*). Others, like this, seem to have been created later; cf. COSTANZA 1977,321n25. The syntax of the section 187-92 is rather loose, as a main verb is missing; we may supply a word like *venere*.

Oricon: Lucan returns from Crete to Epirus, in which *Oricos* is situated, lying to the south of Apollonia. The city was said to have been founded by Helenus and Andromache after the destruction of Troy (cf. Verg. A.3,294ff; RE XVIII,1059-62), hence *Dardaniam* (cf. 2,393). This is one of the rare allusions in Lucan to less common myths. For the name *Oricos* cf. Verg. A.10,136-7; Hor. Carm.3,7,5; Prop. 1,8,20. It was an important harbour during this civil war; cf. Caes. Civ.3,7,1; 3,8,4 a.o..

188 **Athaman**: the *Athamanes* are a rather obscure Epirotic tribe[1], living in the Pindos mountains. Cf. Ov. Met.15,311; Plu. Pomp.66; RE II,1928-9.

189 **Encheliae - Cadmi**: 'the Encheliae who by their ancient name bear witness to the death of transformed Cadmus' (HASKINS). The *Encheliae*, another obscure tribe in Illyria, are mentioned twice by Hdt.(5,61; 9,43). Their name is derived from the Greek word for 'eel', which was considered as a snake. Thus the name recalls the tale of Cadmus (cf. 175). Together with his wife Harmonia, he was transformed into a snake in that region near the end of his life; cf. Ov. Met.4,563-603; RE V,2549.

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1. It is not a reference to *Athamas*, son of Aeolus, as many older editors thought. Cf. FRANCKEN and HOUSMAN a.l.. Actually, the MSS read *Athamas*, but *Athaman* is the certain emendation of Bentley.

The whole line is quoted by Lactant. on Stat. Theb.3,290. The name *Encheliae* does not occur in Roman poetry before Lucan.

190 Colchis - unda: 'men from Colchian Absyrtus, foam-ringed in the Adriatic' (WILDOWS). Lucan jumps to the North. *Apsyrtos* is an island before the Illyrian coast, near the present Histria, one of the *Apsyrtides*, called after the Argonaute *Apsyrtos*, who was said to be killed here; cf. Mela 2,114; Plin. Nat. 3,151; Str. 7,7,5; RE II,284. *Colchis* refers to a region on the Adriatic coast inhabited by colonists of the famous Colchis of the Argonauts legend; cf. 2,591; 3,271. The name is also used for Medea in 6,441 and 10,464.

On the basis of the MSS' reading *Hadriacas... in undas*, it has been assumed that Lucan regards the Apsyrtos as a river here, like the *Niphates* in 245; cf. e.g. BOURGERY; MENDELL 1941,21; SWANSON 1967 s.v.. But in that case, as HOUSMAN notes, a masculine adjective would be expected rather than the feminine *Colchis*[1]. Besides, no river by the name of *Apsyrtos* is known. The reading *Hadriacas* may be caused by a dittography due to the following *-s*, whence *undas*. Therefore, it seems best to consider the *Apsyrtos* an island, read *Hadriaca* with Z and possibly M and accordingly change *undas* to *unda*[2]. *Spumare* may be used of places and things for 'to be covered with foam'; cf. 7,699; 8,245; OLD s.v. 1c.; for the idea cf. 201-2.

191 Penei: a jump back after *Apsyrtos* to the greatest river of Thessalia; cf. Hom. Il.2,752-3; 757; Verg. G.4,355; Ov. Met.1,569. In BC cf. 6,372; 377; 8,33.

quorum - Iolcon: to the plain Vergilean formula *qui...colunt* (cf. 205; Verg. A.7,682-4; 712-4) Lucan adds a complex poetical periphrasis of his own, for which cf. 1,168-9.

192 Thessalus Haemoniam: two adjectives for 'Thessalian'. Lucan uses *Thessalicus*, *Thessalis* and *Thessalus* (a total of 37 times); *Emathius* and *Emathis* (25 times) and *Haemonius* (10 times). *Haemonius* is not used by Vergil, and seems to have a elegiac background; cf. Prop. 1,13,21; Tib. 1,5,45; Ov. Am.1,14,40. Throughout BC we find a sort of deliberate confusion of Thessalia, Macedonia and Thracia, as already in Verg. G.1,489-92 and Ov. Met.15,823-4; cf. THOMSON 1951,434; EHLERS on 1,673-95; BROUWERS 1982,19-21.

Iolcos: a town in the southeast of Thessaly, from where the Argonauts departed to Colchis. Cf. Hom. Il.2,712; Ciris 377; Ov. Met.7,158, a.o..

193 inde...: lines 193-7 form the first small 'excursus' on traditional subjects which disrupts the enumeration of troops. Here the section on Thessaly is expanded by the tale of the Argo (already mentioned in 2,717). Lucan associates the Argo with the discovery of navigation, as was common in mythology, especially as represented in Roman poetry; cf. Catul. 64,1-11; Ov. Met.6,721; Am.2,11,1-6; Man. 1,412-3; Phaed.

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1. BOURGERY takes *Colchis* as a substantive, which seems less likely here.

2. Exceptionally, FRANCKEN's emendation is generally accepted here. Only BOURGERY and CANALI retain *(Hadriacas in) undas*.

72,10; Mart. 11,1,12; Sen. Med.318-63; V.Fl. 1,1[1]; cf. further Plin. Nat.7,207; S.E. M.1,32. The link of the Argo with general disapproval of navigation is not original either: cf. Cat. 64,1-11; Sen. Med.318-63; 607-24. On such rejection of navigation cf. especially SAINT-DENIS 1935,279-306 (on Hor. and Tib.); HEYDENREICH 1970; Doblhofer on Rut.Nam. 1,42; Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. Carm.1,3,12 [2]. The corresponding element of *absentia navium* is part of the larger topos of the Golden Age; cf. GATZ 1967,229 (index).

What Lucan adds to this traditional material is a further negative link with Thessaly and civil war. In 6,396-407 Thessaly is blamed again for inventing seafaring, but equally for first using war horses and coining money. Apart from these inventions, Thessaly is the scene of all sorts of impiety and horror (cf. 6,407-12; 434-506), first and foremost of the catastrophe of Pharsalus. In this way, the 'excursus' is connected with the central theme of the work. On Lucan's Thessalia see NICOLAI 1989.

lacessitum: sc.*est*. 'Challenged' is not aggressive enough; 'provoked' or 'assailed' is a better translation (cf. BOURGERY's 'outragée'). Lucan seems to echo Hor. Carm.1,35,7-8 *quicumque Bithyna lacessit/ Carpathium pelagus carina*.

primo: a play on the literary custom of finding 'inventors' or 'first users' of common phenomena; cf. Nisbet-Hubbard on Hor. Carm.1,3,12. As GASSNER 1972,166 points out, Vergil uses the motif in a positive context to denote beneficial inventions; cf. Verg. G.1,147; 3,113. The effect here is quite different.

rudis: 'untried', as in Cat. 64,11, or 'inexperienced'.

194 **miscuit - gentes**: 'mingled nations until then safely unknown to each other' (WIDDOWS). Cf. 10,32 *ignotos miscuit amnes*.

temerato litore: 'by violating the coast'. *Temerare* is first used by Verg. A.6,840 (cf. Norden a.l.). Here it means 'to violate a place, where it is unnatural to go', for which OLD s.v. 3 compares Plin. Nat.14,52 *maria temerata*; V.Fl. 1,627 *inlicitas temerare... undas*; further Stat. Theb.3,463; Sil. 15,529. In Stat. Silv.2,7,50 the Argo is called *puppem temerariam Minervae*. The expression *temerato litore* is echoed (with a different nuance) by V.Fl. 1,801. For the ending *litore gentes* cf. 2,639; Verg. G.3,33.

195 **primaque - composuit**: 'and first matched mortals against the winds and raging waves of the sea'. For *componere cum* in this sense cf. Hor. S.1,7,20; Sen. Dial.1,2,9; Quint. Inst.2,17,33. Without *cum*: cf. 5,468-9; Verg. G.4,176. For the ending *furentibus undis* cf. Stat. Theb.9,446.

196 **fatis**: *fatum* is often no more than a synonym for *mors*; cf. 353; 634; 4,480; 484 a.o.. The construction from *fatisque* up to *ratem* is not completely clear. Strictly speaking, it is the third clause after *cum rudis - gentes* and *primaque - genus*, but the change of subject and the sense require a translation as a separate sentence (LUCK; cf.

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1. In this, V.Fl. is different from A.R., who merely alludes to this story (4,319). Cf. also Verg. Ecl.4,34.

2. As this rejection is traditional, we need not feel it contradicts Lucan's great interest in maritime detail, displayed in e.g. 3,509-762.

DUFF) or a consecutive clause (EHLERS). For *accedere fatis* cf. 1,42; Ov. Ep.7,135; Tr.1,8,47.

197 **mors una**: the idea of 'manner of death' may also be seen in 634; 5,283; 9,736; 789. For the idea of adding a form of death, cf. Prop. 3,7,29-32; Stat. Theb.1,109 (*mors una*); further V.Fl. 1,501-2; Sen. Med.338-9.

tum linquitur...: as often in BC, the new section starts in the middle of a verse. The passage 197-210 is analysed and condemned by SOUBIRAN 1966,606-7 as an example of a text which avoids elision, at the cost of complex syntax.

Haemus: geographically, a mountain in Thracia, which Lucan usually locates in Thessalia; cf. 1,680; 5,3; 6,575; 7,174; 480; 10,449. On the general confusion concerning Thessalia, cf. above on 192.

198 **Pholoe**: a mountain in Thessalia[1], also mentioned in 6,388: 7,449; 7,827, but not in Homer or Vergil. It was usually associated with the Centaurs, to which Lucan alludes here in *populum...biformem*; cf. also 6,391 where the Centaur Pholus is addressed, and 6,386 *semiferos...Centauros*. For the myths cf. further RE XX,515-7. *Biformem* is used elsewhere of Centaurs; cf. Ov. Met.9,121; 12,456; Am.2,12,19 *populumque biformem*; Stat. Ach.2,165.

mentita: *mentiri* in the sense 'allege falsely', 'invent' with a direct object is comparatively rare; OLD s.v.4 compares Vell. 2,4,1; Plin. Nat.7,188. Once again the poet gives a negative colour to an element in this catalogue, after e.g. 179; 181; 183; 193-7. Whereas some myths pass without critical comment (175; 176-7; 189), others are called into doubt (183 and here). Lucan often displays such rational rejection of myths; see on 212-3. But in 9,359-60 he also takes the opposite view: *invidus, annoso famam qui deroget aevo / qui vates ad vera vocat.*

199 **Strymon**: a river in Thracia, not mentioned by Homer, but cf. Verg. G.4,508; Ov. Met.2,257. The adjective is used by Vergil to describe cranes (cf. on 200): G.1,120; A.10,265; 11,580[2]. For the idea of migration from the Strymon to the Nile, cf. 5,711-6; 7,832-3; Ar. Av.710; Verg. A.6,309-12 (without names); Sen. Oed.604-6; Claud. 15,475-6. The corresponding migration back to Thracia is described in V.Fl. 3,359-61.

tepido: not just an ornamental adjective, in this context of migration of birds. The Nile is also called *tepidus* in Mart. 11,11,1; Claud. 15,476.

Nilus: clearly one of Lucan's favourite rivers, mentioned no less than 56 times, periphrases and adjectives excluded; cf. below on 260. On the Nile in Roman literature cf. POSTL 1970.

200 **Bistonias...aves**: i.e. *grues* 'cranes', the Thracian birds par excellence. The motif of cranes goes back to Hom. Il.2,459-63; 3,2-7; cf. texts referred to on 199 Strymon. Implicitly, the Thracian soldiers may be compared to the migrating birds, as Smolenaars on Stat. Theb.7,286f notes. *Bistonius* is a normal poetical synonym for

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1. There was a *Pholoe* in Arcadia too, but that is not meant here.

2. In A.10,414 it is a warrior's name. Ov. Ars.3,182 has *Threiciamve gruem*.

Thracius; cf. 2,163; 4,767, 7,569; 826. For Thracian soldiers (fighting with the Trojans) cf. also Hom. Il 2,844-5.

Cone: a very obscure name, for which there is no parallel in ancient sources The Comm Bern. say that it is a city on an island in the Danube. This suits the context very well. Its attribute *barbara* explicitly points at the 'barbarism' so prominent in BC, cf. DAUGE 1981,191-8.

201 **Sarmaticas - Histri**: 'where one mouth of the much-cleft Danube looses its Sarmatian waters and washes Peuce sprinkled by the sea'. A learned geographical detail on Cone, complicated by the postponed subject. The water is called 'Sarmatian' after the Sarmatians (not in Homer or Vergil) who lived near the lower course of the Danube, since the 2nd century B C.. For 'Peuce sprinkled by the sea' see below.

202 **multifidi**: of a river, as in 10,311, Mart. 8,28,7, and some late Latin authors, cf. TLL VIII,1584ff. Since the early principate the Danube was considered to have seven mouths, cf. the scholia a.l., Ov. Tr.2,189, Stat. Silv 5,2,136-7; V.Fl. 4,718, Tac. Ger.1; Mela 2,8, RE IV,2117-20[1].

Peucen: a large island near or in the southernmost mouth of the river, where the salt water of the sea apparently streamed in, as HASKINS explains, referring to Str. 7,3,15. Cf. also A.R. 4,309-13, Plin. Nat.4,79, RE XIX,1384-9. In Roman poetry the name is also used by Mart. 7,7,1, Stat Silv 5,2,137 and V.Fl. 8,217. For the Greek accusative in Latin poetry cf especially HOUSMAN 1910.

caput· here a 'mouth' of a river, as in 2,52, 10,223, Caes BG 4,10,5, Verg A.8,65, Liv. 33,41,7, 37,18,6; cf. TLL III,410,17ff[2]. Usually, when said of a river, *caput* indicates its source, as in 256, cf. TLL III,409,3ff.

203 **Mysiaque**: the transition from Europe to Asia is obscured by the unbroken syntactical structure (Mysia being a subject of *desentur*, or possibly of a verb which is to be supplied, e.g *venit*). Mysia is a region northwest of Asia Minor. The Mysians fight on the side of the Trojans in Hom Il.2,858-61; cf. further Verg. G.1,102.

All MSS read *Moesiaque* or *Moesa(e)que*, only V has *Misiaque*; cf. GOTOFF 1971,196. The confusion is obvious, since Moesia is the region near the Danube, north of Macedonia and Thracia, regions which have been dealt with by the poet[3]

tellus...Idalis: the region around Mount Ida in Mysia and the Troad I have found no parallel for the adjective *Idalis*, the normal form being *Idaeus*. It has no entry in the OLD; in his apparatus SHACKLETON BAILEY records Micyllus' conjecture *Aeolis*, but his text reads *Idalis*.

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[1] According to the RE, Hdt 4,48 was the main source for the theory that the Danube had five mouths But Herodotus talks about rivers which pour into the Danube, not of mouths For later Greek sources, cf RE, ibid

[2] For the three Lucanean texts, the TLL gives the separate sense *totum flumen* or *bracchium* However, it seems better to include them among the examples of the sense *ostium*

[3] BOURGERY makes things worse, by printing *Moesiaque* and translating 'la Mysie'

Caicus: the main river of Mysia, pouring into the sea near Pitane (cf. 205); cf. Verg. G.4,370 *Mysusque Caicus*; Ov. Met.2,243; 12,111; further Str. 13,1,70. It is a person's name in Verg. A.1,183; 9,35; Sil. 1,306.

204 Arisbe: a city in the Troad; cf. Hom. Il.2,836; 6,13; Verg. A.9,264; further Str. 13,1,20; Plb. 5,111,5. Whereas in Homer the city is called *dios* or *euktimenos*, it receives a negative epithet here: *exilis* used of soil means 'lacking richness, poor', as in Cic. Agr.2,67; Stat. Theb.7,307; Col. 3,1,8; TLL V,2,1482,8ff.

205 quique - Pitanen: the main verb is no longer *deseritur* (199) but has be to supplied, e.g. *venere*. Pitane is a city in the Aeolis, not named by Homer or Vergil; cf. Hdt. 1,149; Ov. Met.7,357.

tua munera, Pallas: another apostrophe; see on 159. In BC the Gods are usually addressed only collectively, as *superi*: cf. 1,37; 4,791; 5,297. The only other apostrophized individual God is Mulciber in 10,448[1]. Pallas is also named Minerva (cf. 306), Tritonis (9,354) or Tritonia (9,682).

Lucan alludes to the contest between Apollo (on whom see 231) and Marsyas (see below) in playing the flute, a gift of Athena; cf. Adn. a.l.; Hdt. 7,26; X. A.1,2,8; Ov. Fast.6,693-710; Met.6,382-400; Stat. Theb.4,185-6; RE XI,134,7ff; Roscher II,2443,25.

206 Celaenae: a city in Phrygia; cf. Hdt. 7,26; Ov. Fast.4,363; Stat. Theb.4,186. Quotations from lines 206-7 can be found in Lactant. on Stat. Theb.4,186 and Prisc. GLK 2,202,13.

207 qua...: for repeated *qua* (here and 210), cf. on 84.

descendens: of a river, as in 6,77; Sen. Nat.4,2,22; V.Fl. 8,219; TLL V,1,648,45ff.

Marsya: the Marsya(s) is a river in Phrygia, called after the satyr who was skinned after challenging Apollo. Ovid relates how the tears of nymphs, fauns, satyrs and animals turned into a river; cf. Ov. Met.6,392-400. The straight banks of the Marsyas are mentioned as a contrast to the proverbial bends of the Maeandros, indicated in the next line; cf. also Ov. Met.6,399 *petens rapidum ripis declivibus aequor*. Lines 207-8, including this contrast, are closely imitated by Claud. 20,266-8.

208 Maeandron: the Maeandros is a famous river in Phrygia and Lydia; cf. Hom. Il.2,869; Prop. 2,30,17; Ov. Met.8,162; Sen. Her.F.684. It was famous for its bends, hence *errantem*. Lucan mentions it once more, in 6,475.

mixtusque refertur: the flowing together of two rivers is a motif which appealed to Lucan, probably as an example of violence in nature, by which he could extend the military conflict to natural elements; cf. 235-6; 256-9; 1,399-401; 433-6. *Refertur* refers to a bend in the Maeandros immediately after the point where the two rivers meet. On Maeandros and Marsyas flowing together, cf. RE XIV,535,67ff.

209 passaque - Pactolon: 'where earth lets the Pactolus rise from its gold mines'. The Pactolos is a river in Lydia, traditionally said to carry golden sand: cf. Hdt. 5,101; S. Ph.394; Verg. A.10,141-2; Prop. 3,18,28; Ov. Met.11,87-8; Sen. Oed.467; Phoen.604. In 546 B.C. Croesus assembled his troops here for his expedition against Cyrus.

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[1] I do not count apostrophes of *Concordia* (4,190), *Fortuna* (1,226; 251 a.o.) or similar abstracta.

Aurifer is rare, but occurs as adjective of rivers: cf. Catul. 29,19; Ov. Am.1,15,34; Mart. 10,96,3. It is used of the Pactolos in e.g. (Tib.) 3,3,29, Ov. Ib.300; Claud. 14,61; cf. TLL II,1496,69ff. *Exire* is used of a river in a literal sense, as in Verg. A.8,65; Ov. Met. 11,602.

210 culta secat: cf. Verg. A.8,63 *pinguia culta secantem* (of the Tiber).

non vilior Hermus: the Hermus is a river in Lydia; cf. Hom. Il.20,392. It was equally renowned for its golden sand: cf. Hdt. 5,101; Verg. G.2,137 *auro turbidus Hermus*, Stat. Theb.4,389, Mart. 6,86,5; 8,78,5-6; Sil. 1,159. Line 210 is quoted by Acro on Hor. Epod.15,20. The Pactolos pours into the Hermus, but Lucan has omitted an immediate repetition of the motif of rivers flowing together.

211 Iliacae: we can hardly miss Lucan's point: even Troy, the object of the great Trojan war of Homer's *Iliad*, and the origin of Rome, comes to Pompey's aid. The poet does not fail to add that its troops thus head for destruction; for the function of *peritura* cf. on 6 *reditura* and 170 *casuras* Line 211 is missing in Z, and follows 193 in Z^2ABRW, cf. GOTOFF 1971,30-4, TARRANT 1983,217[1].

212 ominibus...suis: a rather vague ablative. Perhaps the translation 'being a bad omen' (taken with the subject *Iliacae manus*) makes best sense. The Trojans are ominous simply because their city has been captured itself, and because Caesar with his usual cruelty may be expected to fight Troy no less than he fights Rome. Both aspects are dealt with in Lucan's following words. Several variant readings for *ominibus* found in YGUV occur in the other MSS: *omnibus* M(?)ZABQU; *hominibus* RPJ and *nominibus* W, cf. GOTOFF 1971,196.

fabula Troiae: significantly, the legendary story of Troy, the very foundation of Vergil's *Aeneid*, is labelled as a mere *fabula*. On the whole Lucan shows little interest in mythology, except for some longer tales, as 4,593-655 (Hercules and Antaeus) 9,624-99 (Perseus and Medusa). In his occasional references, Lucan's attitude is often sceptical and rationalistic, but also, by contrast, neutral and traditional; cf. on 198. For *fabula* in this depreciatory sense, cf. especially 6,48; 7,392, 9,623.

The legend of Troy was a subject of much interest to the literary court of Nero. The emperor himself delivered a speech on Troy as the origin of the Julian race when he was only 16 years old (Tac. Ann.12,58) and composed a poem called *Troica*. Lucan wrote an *Iliacon*; and Petr. 89 seems a parody on the subject; cf. MORFORD 1973,214. In BC 9,964-999 the ruins of Troy are visited by Caesar. As a symbol for Rome itself, Troy is closely bound up with the central themes in BC.

213 continuit: 'withheld them' sc. from coming. The subjects are *fabula Troiae* and *Caesar*.

Phrygiique - Iuli: 'or Caesar who alleges to be a descendant of Trojan Iulus'. Another reference to Caesar and the *Iulii* as descendants of Aeneas, cf. on 90

[1] This place is considered as important proof of the dependence of the MSS ABRW on Z, because the transposition of line 211 clearly originates in Z.

suae...Romae; further 1,197; 9,995; contrast Verg. A.1,286-8[1]. Whereas Lucan dismisses the *Aeneid*'s central theme as a mere legend (mentioning Aeneas only in 9,991 and Iulus only here), the character Caesar claims his descent from Trojan ancestors. By itself, this claim might have deterred the Trojans from fighting against him (cf. also above on *ominibus... suis*)[2]. For *Phrygius Iulus* cf. V.Fl. 1,9 (plural). *Phrygius* is a 'totum pro parte' for *Troianus*. The construction of *se ferre* with genitive is also used by Vell. 1,11,1; Sil. 4,150.

214 **Syriae**: from Asia Minor, the poet jumps a large distance to the South- East, cf. Caes. Civ.3,3-4; App. BC 2,71. In BC the name reappears only in 8,169 and 181 (cf. 7,540 *Syri*).

Orontes: the main river of Syria, pouring into the Mediterranean south of Seleucia. Its name is commonly used in poetry, cf. 6,51; Verg. A.1,113; 220; 6,334; Ov. Met.2,248; Prop. 2,23,21. Line 214 is quoted by Lactant. on Stat. Theb.8,366.

215 **sic fama**: sc. *est*, cf. *ut fama* 9,348; 356. HOUSMAN takes the phrase with *desertus*, but it clearly belongs to *felix*. Cf. below on Ninos.

Ninos: generally interpreted as the famous Niniveh, the former capital of Assyria. But HOUSMAN has noted that this city cannot have supplied troops for Pompey, as it was located in Parthia. He proposes a city in Commagene (in Asia Minor, to the north of Syria), usually called Hierapolis or Bambyce[3], for which he compares Str. 16,1,27; Plin. Nat.5,81; Amm.Marc. 14,8,7 (see further RE Suppl.IV,733-42; De Jonge on Amm.Marc. 14,7,5). Possibly, Lucan's source mentioned Ninos in Commagene, which Lucan may have confused with the more famous Ninos in Parthia; at least this would explain *sic fama* (cf. Arr. Ind.42,3; Plin. Nat.6,42; further Tac. Ann.12,13); for this view cf. HELM 1956,185; SHACKLETON BAILEY 1987,77.

ventosa Damascos: Damascos is the main town of Syria, not mentioned by Homer or Vergil. *Ventosa* recalls Homer's *ènemoeis*, one of the fixed epithets of Troy (Il.3,305 a.o.). Damascos is surrounded by plains, and so the epithet seems well chosen[4]. Lucan's phrase is quoted (as *ventura Damascos*) by Prob. GLK 4,20,24.

216 **Gaza**: a city in the south of Palestine, not named by Homer or Roman poets. Jews in general are listed by App. BC 2,71 among Pompey's troops.

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1. BORZSAK 1980,63 has detected another rather malicious allusion to the myth of the *Iulu* in 10,74-81. the *adulter* Caesar and Cleopatra devote themselves to *Venus*, and their unlawful relation brings forth brothers to the deceased Iulia.

2 EHLERS on 3,169-297 (p.523) says that Troy brings bad luck for Pompey because of its family ties with Caesar But the point here is not the bad luck of Pompey (he is bound to be defeated anyway), but of the Trojans themselves they will fall (cf. 170) as victims of Caesar's aggression, just as the 'real' Rome with all its allies.

3. Already the Comm.Bern. seem to point to this town.

4. In a curious note HOUSMAN says that he has been informed by veteran soldiers that in 1919 the city was still 'windy'.

arbusto palmarum: 'by the plantation of palms', 'by palm plantations', a periphrasis for *palmetis*. Palestine was famous for its palm trees (see below). But this might also be an ironical allusion to palm trees as a symbol of triumph.

Idume· a region of Palestine, sometimes used as pars pro toto for Palestine. Lucan echoes Verg. G.3,12 *primus Idumaeas referam tibi, Mantua, palmas* (Serv.a.l. quotes Lucan's line), and he is echoed in his turn by V.Fl. 1,12; Stat. Silv.3,2,138; 5,2,138-9, Sil. 3,600.

217 **Tyros...Sidon**: two Phoenician towns on the coast of Palestine[1], both famous for their purple, hence *pretiosa murice, murex* denoting either the shellfish, or the purple obtained from it. In BC purple is not as prominent as in the Aeneid; cf. PATERNI 1987,110, 119 However, Lucan describes the process of dyeing in 10,123-4 Purple symbolizes kingship and riches, also in Roman epic, cf FOLSE 1936,72; REINHOLD 1970, and in general RE XXIII,2000,51ff. For *pretiosa* cf. Stat. Silv.3,2,139 *pretiosa Tyros*. Phoenicia is mentioned by Caes Civ.3,3 and App BC 2,71.

instabilis: probably refers to the earthquakes which frequently occur in the region, cf Sen. Nat 6,1,13, Curt 4,4,20. For *instabilis* in this sense cf Ov. Met.6,191.

218 **has ad bella - carinis**: 'in a straight course across the sea these ships were directed to war by Cynosura, which is not trusted more by any other ships (than those of the Phoenicians)'. A difficult statement on astronomy. The Phoenicians sailed by the constellation Cynosura (Ursa Minor), whereas the Greeks sailed by Helica (Ursa Maior) Cf Arat 36-44; Ov Fast 3,107-08, Man. 1,296-302, Germ Arat 39-47; Sen Med 695-7, V Fl 1,17-8, several of them with the element *certior* (Arat., Man; Germ., V.Fl), cf. LEFEVRE 1971,44-5. Cynosura is mentioned in two other astronomical passages in BC (8,180 and 9,540). Lucan gives a twist to this traditional motif. in their unerring course, the ships do not head for a safe harbour, but for a destructive war.

Limes is a 'line of travel, course', cf. OLD s.v.4 For the phrase cf. Stat. Silv.2,2,84, Theb 2,61.

219 **haud**. may be taken with *ullis* or, as postposition, with *certior*.

220 **Phoenices primi...**· another short excursus on an 'invention' (cf. 193-7): here the invention of the alphabet by the Phoenicians is dealt with Ironically, this historical fact is called into doubt by the poet (*famae si creditur*[2]), just like the myth of Troy (212), or the ancient history of Ninos (215). The motif was traditional: cf Curt. 4,4,19; Mela 1,65; Plin. Nat.5,67. Cadmus is said to have brought the art of writing from Tyrus to Greece, when he founded Thebes, cf. Hdt. 5,58. Still, several peoples other than the Phoenicians were sometimes considered to be the 'inventors' of the alphabet, cf. Tac. Ann 11,14 with KOESTERMANN's note. For *ausi* cf. below on *rudibus figuris*.

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[1] They are often mentioned together Still, in Homer's works only Sidon is named (Od 15,425)

[2] For this phrase cf 9,411-2 *si credere famae cuncta velis*, Liv 1,49,9; Curt 4,4,19 See further on 406 *si qua fidem merui*. Poets commonly use phrases like *si credere dignum est* (Verg A.6,173), *si modo credimus* (Ov Met 2,330), *si qua fides* (Ov Am 1,3,16) and others

Lines 220-2 are often quoted by Medieval authors; cf. MANITIUS 1892,705; 713-4. A late echo may be found in Goethe's *Ephemeriden* of 1770, where the lines are quoted in the French translation by Brébeuf; cf. SCHÖNBERGER 1958b.

221 **mansuram**: for the future participle, cf. on 6. It is unclear who is the main focalizer here, the Phoenicians or the poet.

rudibus figuris: Lucan seems to imply a contrast with the well shaped Egyptian hieroglyphs mentioned in the following lines. Taking the pose of a *laudator temporis acti*, the poet idealizes the earliest period of human civilisation, in which magic ruled, and men lived in utmost simplicity[1]. This would explain *ausi* in 220, which suggests that the alphabet is no better an invention than sea-faring (193-7).

222 **Memphis**: a city in Egypt, mentioned several times in BC (cf. 1,639; 6,449; 8,478).

biblos: *biblus* is the Egyptian papyrus, a waterplant found in the Nile (hence *flumineas*). The word is Greek in origin, and is only used here in classical Latin. (Cf. TLL II,1959,4ff for some instances in late Latin). Plin. Nat. 13,74-82 tells how papyrus was made. Two layers of small strips, made from the pith of the plant, were fastened by water and by pressure. Sheets of it were glued together to form rolls. Lucan's *contexere* may refer to any stage of this process.

223 **et saxis - linguas**: Lucan refers to the Egyptian hieroglyphs. Cf. above on 221. Tac. Ann.11,14 tells about the Phoenicians and Greeks, but he also relates the Egyptians' claim to be the inventors of the alphabet. For this juxtaposition of theories of Egyptian and Phoecian-Greek origin of the alphabet, Tacitus is the only important source; cf. further Amm.Marc. 22,15,30.

volucres: as usual in poetry, *volucres* may have either long or short second syllable. Here it is short, as in 1,259; 601; 3,283. For the ending *volucresque feraeque*, cf. 10,158; Ov. Met.7,185; Fast.3,193; Stat. Theb.7,404. The combination *-que...-que* is typical for hexameter poetry. It seems to be modelled after the Greek *te...te*; cf. LHS II,515; Norden on Verg. A.6,336; Austin on Verg. A.4,83.

224 **sculptaque...animalia**: 'and (other) engraved animals'. Many of the Egyptian hieroglyphs represent animals, though not all of them. It seems as if Lucan idealizes the hieroglyphs as a 'natural' art of writing, as opposed to the later alphabet (cf. above on 221).

magicas...linguas: 'magic words' or perhaps 'utterances of their priests'.

225 **Taurique nemus**: Taurus is a high mountain range in the south of Asia Minor[2], difficult to enter and wooded, hence *nemus*; cf. RE 2 V a,39-53, esp.48. It must not be confused with the constellation bearing the same name (cf. 255; Verg. A.1,218; RE ibid.,53-8).

Perseaque Tarsos: Tarsos is a town in the south of Cilicia in Asia Minor, a name not used by other Latin poets. For the story of Perseus as its founder, Lucan is our first source; cf. further D.Chr. 33,1; 45; 47; Amm.Marc. 14,8,3; and other late

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1. If this interpretation is valid, we have the beautiful paradox of the poet claiming eternity for his work (9,980-6) while denouncing the alphabet's fixation of words.

2. Pompey mentioned the *Tauri* explicitly in 2,594 as one of the nations he subjected.

sources; RE 2 IV 2,2415. D.Chr. mentions Heracles along with Perseus as an alternative founder. Cf. also 6,449 *Babylon Persea*.

226 Coryciumque...antrum: a cave near the Cilician town of Corycos, famous for its saffran yielding plants; cf. 9,809; Hor.S.2,4,68; Mart. 3,65,2; Juv. 14,267; Plin. Nat.21,31; Str. 14,5,5; Mela 1,72; Bömer on Ov. Fast.5,227; further e.g. BC 8,26; Verg. G.4,127. It must not be confused with a famous cave near Delphi bearing the same name (on which see RE XI,2,1448-50).

exesis rupibus: '(with) hollowed rocks', to be taken with *patens*; for the phrase cf. 4,589; 5,514.

227 Mallos - Aegae: 'Mallos and distant Aegae resound (with the noise of) their dockards'. This description varies the repeated *deseritur* or *venere*. Mallos and Aegae are both cities in Cilicia, which are not mentioned by other Latin poets. The Cilician Aegae must not be confused with Aegae in Greece (located in Achaea or Euboea), which is named already in Hom. Il.8,203 a.o.. For *navalia* cf. on 182; for the noise made in them, HASKINS compares Ar. Ach.552-4.

228 it: the reading of GUVC, which is generally preferred to *et* ZM and *id* P.

Cilix: after defeating the pirates in 67 B.C., Pompey settled them as colonists in Cilicia; cf. 1,346; 2,635-6; App. Mith.96 (who mentions Mallos as one of the sites; cf. 227); Vell. 2,32,4-6. They are mentioned among Pompey's troops in Caes. Civ.3,3 and App. BC 2,71. In 4,448-52 they use one of their old pirate tricks in defence of Pompey. Pompey' success in fighting the pirates is a recurrent motif in BC; cf. e.g. 1,122; 2,576-9; 6,420-2; 8,38; 9,222-4.

iusta: 'regular' or 'lawful', as in 2,379. It is immediately explained by the following words *iam non pirata*.

229 Eoos...recessus: the second section of the scene 169-297 deals with the Far East. *Recessus* seems well chosen here, as Lucan starts with eastern India. The order in this section seems even more desultory than in the first section, which dealt with a much more restricted area. The enormous spacial dimensions suggest once again that the whole world takes part in the conflict. For *Eoos* cf. on 93. The whole phrase with *movit* resembles Curt. 4,1,38.

230 qua...: India is the first country to which the poet jumps. Lines 230-6 are about its rivers, including an allusion to Alexander's conquests; lines 237-43 allude to the Indians' luxury as well as their contempt of death. All texts on India in Roman literature have been collected by ANDRÉ 1986. Especially post-Augustan poets show much interest in India, although they mainly use stock elements[1]. Neither Caes. nor App. mentions Indians among Pompey's troops. Lucan has added them to lend poetic colour to his catalogue.

colitur: 'is worshipped' may be correct, as the river was worshipped as a God (cf. Str. 15,1,69). But the basic sense 'is inhabited' may be used here too, as in 191 and 205. The passive form should then be translated somewhat loosely: thus HASKINS has 'where men dwell on Ganges' banks'.

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[1]. A recent article on Roman relations with India is DE ROMANIS 1987.

Ganges: the great river in eastern India, often mentioned in Roman poetry as a symbol for India; cf. e.g. Verg. G.2,137; A.9,31; Ov. Met.2,249; Sen. Oed.427. In BC cf. 2,496; 8,227; 10,33; 252; further 4,64.

toto qui - orbe: a strong contrast, as often with *solus*, cf. on 4. More importantly, there is a contrast between the water of the river and the fire of the sun, as in 2,410-5 (Po); 10,228-37 (Nile). Here the Ganges 'dares' to flow to where the sun rises, to the East. This course was considered exceptional, cf. Curt. 8,9,5; Vib.Seq. 68; Str. 15,1,13; 72[1]. For *orbis* as 'the world'; cf. OLD s.v. 12b; see also on 169.

The river seems to represent Pompey's side: throughout BC Pompey appears associated with water, and Caesar with fire (cf. on 1-45 (4); in addition, Caesar is connected with Alexander, whom the river opposes (cf. below on 233). For water clashing with fire, cf. also 680-90.

231 **ostia - Phoebo**: 'to unlock its mouths opposite the rising sun' (DUFF). For *ostia...solvere* I have found no exact parallel, but cf. V.Fl. 8,187 *ostia pandit*.

Phoebo refers to the sun here. It has been noticed that Lucan has a remarkable predilection for Phoebus. TUCKER 1983,143 has counted 123 cases where he is mentioned by any of his various names. His function as sun-god seems the most important (36 times; in BC 3: cf. 423; 521; 595)[2].

232 **et adversum - Eurum**: a paraphrase of the foregoing, now with water against wind. This extends the description of the phenomenon to more than two lines. Lucan often has a complex or even obscure phrase which is explained in simpler terms immediately afterwards. For this paraphrase technique, cf. SCHRIJVERS 1989. Like several winds, the *Eurus* (south or southeast wind) is frequent in BC, cf. 549; 1,141; 219; 2,457 a.o..

233 **hic ubi**: most translators start a new sentence here ('here it was that...'). In fact, it is a relative clause ('there where...') for which HOUSMAN compares Ov. Fast. 1,258; 464; 582; 2,194 and 3,836.

Pellaeus...ductor: Alexander the Great, here named after Pella in Macedonia; cf. e.g. Stat. Silv.4,6,59-60. He has certainly not proceeded beyond the Hypasis; cf. Arr. Ind.6; Str. 15,1,27; Curt. 9,1,35. However, he is represented here as having reached the Ganges. This error, made also in 10,33 (and in D.S. 2,37; Str. 15,1,35; Sil. 13,765; Claud. 21,266; Vib.Seq. 68), probably dates back to the first important source on India, Megasthenes; cf. BAEUMER 1902,34; on the question whether

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1. In fact, the river bends to the South again, before flowing into the sea. Cf. RE VII,1,705,61ff. The Ganges was not the only river which was believed to flow to the East. The Danube is another example, which must have been known to Lucan. But he chooses what is rhetorically most effective here.

2. Regrettably, in his explanation TUCKER lapses into speculation on Lucan's relations with Nero. The presence of Phoebus in his various functions may be fully explained on poetical grounds.

Alexander knew the Ganges or not cf. SEIBERT 1981,160-2 (with further references)[1].

Alexander is viewed rather negatively here, as on several other occasions in BC, especially 10,20-52; cf. further Sen. Ep.94,62-7; Ben.1,13; 2,16; Nat.3,praef.5; Juv. 10,168-9[2]. Various factors may have contributed to this attitude: most importantly, in declamation schools Alexander was a very popular subject both of praise and of denunciation, cf. Sen. Suas.1 and 4; Con.7,7,19, CHRISTENSEN 1909,121-2; BONNER 1966,273-4. Secondly, many philosophers, especially Stoics, took a hostile attitude towards him, cf. STROUX 1933 However, RUFUS FEARS 1974 has shown that this attitude was by no means uniform among Stoics or other philosophers, Roman authors like Lucan and Seneca may have been more influenced by some late texts of Cicero reflecting contemporary Roman politics, in which Alexander became the symbol of the tyrant (cf. e.g. Cic. Att.13,28,3; Off.2,15,53; Tusc 5,32,92).

Within BC, Alexander is used to shed a negative light on Caesar, who is connected with him, cf. esp. 10,20-52 with Schmidt's comments, and AHL 1976,222-8, CRESCI MARRONE 1984,80-90[3]. In 2,496-7 Caesar himself has exclaimed he will not be stopped by any river, *non si tumido me gurgite Ganges / summoveat.* But here Alexander is actually stopped by the Ganges. Thus Lucan seems to allude to the end of Caesar's successes

post - aequora· 'after the ocean'. Tethys is generally used as name of a goddess of the sea, or as the sea or ocean itself. The phrase is very difficult, due to the ellipse of the verb. The most natural interpretation would be 'after having sailed (or crossed) the ocean' (BOURGERY, probably also LUCK: 'Nachdem er das Meer hinter sich gelassen hatte'), as in 2,498 *post Rubiconis aquas*[4]. But until this point in the story, as told by Arr. and Curt., Alexander has not yet sailed the ocean at all: the famous expedition on the Indian Ocean led by Alexander's general Nearchus takes place only on the voyage back. The phrase is usually interpreted as 'after having reached the ocean' (cf. HASKINS, HOUSMAN, DUFF and EHLERS). However, Alexander has not reached the ocean east of India as he had intended, but in the west, at the mouth of the Indus. Still, his arrival at the ocean was a rhetorical topic (cf. Sen. Suas.1), and Lucan may have transposed it for his own

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[1] There seems to be a contradiction with 10,36-7 *Oceano classes inferre / parabat exteriore mari.* Schmidt a l tries to solve the problem by assuming that the Atlantic is meant there rather than the Oceanus near India But Lucan does not avoid contradictions, if they are rhetorically effective Besides, *parabat* indicates merely a plan, not a fact - In 8,227 it is Pompey who says that he has reached the Ganges, but he has not been there any more than Alexander

[2] Significantly, in Lucan's version of a positive anecdote belonging to the Alexander tradition (9,500-10), Alexander has been replaced with Cato

[3] The historical Caesar identified himself with Alexander, cf Cic Att 12,45,3, 13,28,3, MICHEL 1967, for Pompey cf Sall Hist 3,88

[4] Similar phrases with *post* 1,336, 5,473 with HOUSMAN a l, quoting several other parallels

reasons: confronted with the immense waters of both Ganges and ocean, Lucan's Alexander has to declare himself 'defeated by the greatness of the world'[1].

Perhaps, we may go even further. Alexander's wish to sail the ocean east of India seems to have been one of the main motifs for his expedition to the country (cf. SCHACHERMEYR 1972,396-402; SEIBERT 1981,160-2). Lucan might well allude to Alexander's historical failure to do so: 'after his attempt to reach the ocean'. In this case, the text would shed a much more negative light on Alexander, as elsewhere in BC (cf. above on *Pellaeus...ductor*), apart from being more in line with historical facts. Moreover, the final paradox would gain additional weight: Alexander is not even defeated by the ocean (which he has not been able to reach) but by the Ganges river, whose 'audacious' course was the starting point of the whole passage.

ductor: 'military commander', frequent in poetry; cf. 1,228; 356; v.l. in 3,71; a.o.; further Lucr. 1,86; Verg. A.2,14 (with Servius' note: *sonantius est quam duces*). In BC it seems to have a more solemn ring than the normal *dux*; cf. Van Amerongen on 5,241.

234 **magno**: we cannot miss the pun on Alexander's name: the 'Great' is defeated himself by the greatness of the world. The poet seems to play with the motif of 'smallness of the world in Alexander's eyes' for which see Juv. 10,168-9; Sen. Suas.1,3; 1,5; Curt. 7,8,12[2]. Probably he is also alluding to the real *Magnus* in BC, Pompey (for puns on his name cf. on 5).

vinci se: the reading of V is accepted by all modern editors, against *vinci de* of the other MSS.

235 **quaque - Hydaspen**: 'and where the Indus, bearing along its rapid water split into a double stream, does not notice that the Hydaspes is mixed into its vast waters'. After the lines on the Ganges, the text continues with another river as illustration of *Eoos...recessus* (229), *qua* being on the same level as *qua* in 230 and *quique* in 237. *Diviso*, found in most MSS, and *fontem*, the reading of ZMG(C), are generally preferred to *diverso* of GV and *pontum* of PUV; for *fons* in the the poetical sense 'water' OLD s.v.1e compares e.g. Verg. A.2,686; 12,119; Stat. Theb.3,409.

The 'double stream' of the Indus probably refers to its double mouth, for which cf. Str. 15,1,32; Arr. An.5,4,1; 6,20,1-2; Mela 3,69; further RE IX,1370,54ff[3]. On the Indus cf. also Plin. Nat.6,71-2. For the ending *gurgite fontem* cf. Stat. Silv.1,3,65; Sil. 4,639.

236 **Hydaspen**: the river Hydaspes, also mentioned in 8,227, is different from the Median river bearing the same name mentioned by Verg. G.4,211 (cf. RE IX,37,66ff). Here

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1. In fact, Alexander was forced to retreat from the Hypanis due to revolt of his soldiers. Plu. Alex.66,1 implies that Alexander considered the mouth of the Indus as a turning point; cf. Curt. 8,4,21; Arr. An.6,19,15. He personally sailed to an island in the ocean, probably, as Arr. adds, to be able to say that he had sailed the ocean.

2. CHRISTENSEN 1909,129 compares Lucan's text with Sen. Ep.91,17 where it is said that within a 'small' world Alexander cannot properly be called 'great'. Cf. further BC 5,356; 10,456-7.

3. These two mouths were situated at a distance of no less than 1800 stadia from each other, according to Arr. An.6,20,2. Nowadays, at least 11 mouths are known.

the Indian Hydaspes is said to flow out into the Indus; cf. Mela 3,69; Vib.Seq. 76; 88[1]. Lucan likes the motif of mixing of rivers; see on 208; 258-9. Isid. Etym.13,21,12, when speaking about the Hydaspes, paraphrases lines 230-2, perhaps using an intermediate source.

237 **quique...**: after the two passages about rivers in India, now some of its peoples are mentioned. Much attention is given to their exotic customs culminating in the habit of suicide.

bibunt: Lucan probably had in mind the common way poets denoted origin by using a verb of 'drinking' with the name of a river, e.g. Hom. Il.2,825; Verg. Ecl.1,62; A.7,715; Hor. Carm.3,10,1; Sen. Oed.427 *qui bibit Gangen*; Med.373-4; Sil. 8,367; cf. further TLL II, 1964,39ff. In BC cf. 7,188; 8,213-4; in a different sense the motif is used in 9,752; 10,40 and 279.

dulcis - sucos: a reference to the juice of the sugar-cane, as Sen. Ep.84,4; Str. 15,1,20; Plin. Nat.12,32; Var.At. Chorogr.frg.18 FPL Büchner[2].

238 **et qui...**: lines 238-9 suggest something of the 'effeminate luxury' typical of the Far East and India. It is, however, very much restricted when compared to e.g. the extravagancies of Cleopatra in 10,107-71. More importantly, these Indians count among the troops of Pompey. Accordingly, there is no censure here of *luxuria* or *divitiae* (cf. above, on 118), nor any contempt for barbarians (cf. 8,331-94). Lucan seems merely fascinated by the exotic features. The 'toughness' of the Cappodocians in 243 does not constitute a positive contrast to the Indian customs, but rather aims at *variatio*.

tinguentes...crinem: Indian tribes are said to wear their hair long (cf. Ov. Fast.3,465). Yellow dye is attested to by Solin. 52,18 and Mart.Cap. 6,696, who also mention a blue dye. Str. 15,1,30 mentions dye, but does not specify the colours. Bright colours like yellow are exceptional in BC, which is largely dominated by black, white and red; cf. on 98. *Croceus* occurs only here. *Medicamen* is comparatively rare for 'dye'; cf. TLL VIII,531,53ff[3].

239 **fluxa - gemmis**: 'tie up their loose linen clothes with colourful gems'. For the whole phrase cf. 2,362. The long, loose clothes are presented as a sign of effeminity in 8,367-8. The long, linen clothes of the Indians are also mentioned by Curt. 8,9,21 (cf. 8,9,15); Plin. Nat.12,39; Str. 15,1,54. For *carbasa* (sg. *carbasus*) as 'linen clothes' cf. Verg. A.8,34; Ov. Met.11,48; V.Fl. 5,423. For gems sewed upon clothes cf. Stat. Theb.6,62-4; 207f. Vergil uses *coloratus* as 'dark-coloured' of the Indians themselves in G.4,292.

240 **quique...**: the last element, suicide by means of fire, is the most dramatic. Many authors have recorded this custom of Indian philosophers, especially the example of

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1. Actually, it flows out into the Acesines, which in its turn flows out into the Indus; cf. Arr. Ind.3,10; 4,9-10; Curt. 9,4,1. - In Petr. 123,239 Pompey is called *saevique repertor Hydaspis*.

2. Parts of this fragment of Varro have been preserved by the Adn. and Comm.Bern. on the present text of Lucan, the entire fragment in Isid. Etym.17,7,58.

3. The word was also used for 'make-up' in general; cf. the *Medicamina faciei femineae* by Ovid.

Callanus, whom Alexander met; cf. e.g. Str. 15,1,68; Arr. An.7,3; D.S. 17,107; Cic. Tusc.2,52; Div.1,47; V.Max. 1,8,ext.10; Mela 3,65; Curt. 8,9,32[1]; cf. VAN HOOFF 1990,57-8.

Readiness to die occurs throughout BC in various forms; death seems the only possibility left to prove one's *virtus* and liberty; cf. RUTZ 1960. One special form is the desire to get killed in battle, mainly exhibited by foreign peoples; cf. esp.1,450-62; 4,146-7; 280; 8,363-4; further 5,516-7 and 568-81 (the Caesarean Vulteius and his men). Patriotical or philosophical readiness to die is no new phenomenon (cf. Verg. A.2,353-4; 655; Sen. Ep.30,12; Sil. 7,69), but only in Lucan it is made into an absolute radical 'lust for death' (e.g. 4,570 *mortem sentire iuvat*), which is censured in Sen.Ep.24,22.

struxere pyras: cf. Verg. A.6,215; 11,204; Stat. Silv.3,3,134. *Struxere*, as well as *conscendere*, is a gnomic perfect; cf. LHS II,318-9. *Pyras* and *rogos* (241) (and further *bustum* and *sepulchrum*) seem to be used indiscriminately for 'pyre'; cf. GREGORIUS 1893,59.

vivique - rogos: not tautological, but a slightly different paradox: they build their own pyres and also burn themselves alive.

241 **pro...**: Lucan does not idealize the Indians, as some authors do (cf. D.Chr. 35,18-21), but he does praise their suicidal tendency by means of a pathetic exclamation (for which cf. on 73)[2].

gloria: cf. on 48. For the ending *gloria genti*(s) cf. 10,284; Verg. A.6,767; Ov. Met.12,530.

242 **iniecisse**: on the infinitive see LUNDQVIST 1907,63-5; LHS II,351-3. *Manum inicere fato* is a complete reversal of the normal process, in which man is dominated by fate. As *fatum* in BC is basically evil, this can only be intended as something positive. Cf. Sen. Ep.70,11 *quidni huic (sc. morti) inicienda sit manus?*.

vitaque repletos: for the thought HASKINS rightly compares Lucr. 3,938 *plenus vitae conviva*; 960 *satur ac plenus*.

243 **quod superest**: this beginning of the line (usually followed by caesura) is common; cf. e.g. Lucr. 1,500; 2,39; Verg. A.5,796; Hor. Ep.1,18,108 *quod superest aevi*; Ov. Met.9,629 a.o.; see SCHUMANN 1983, s.v..

venere: as in 197, the transition back to the regular list of the catalogue is obscured as it takes place in the middle of the verse, but also made clear by the simple verb *venere*.

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1. The same readiness to die on the pyre is ascribed to Indian wives who follow their husbands into death; Str. 15,1,30; Cic. Tusc. 5,78; Prop. 3,13,15-22. In general cf. also Plin. Nat.6,66; VAN HOOFF 1990,79. Probably Lucan is thinking mainly of Callanus, considering his allusion to Alexander.

2. Several scholars miss the point here when they take it as a criticism of suicide; thus FRANCKEN a.l.; ECKARDT 1936,14; SCHÖNBERGER 1968,30; EHLERS). In BC suicide is a means to display *virtus*, cf. on 240 (and further on 242).

244 Cappadoces: after his lines on India the poet jumps all the way back to Asia Minor. It is also a return to historical fact: the Cappadocians are mentioned by App. BC 2,49; 71; and Caes. Civ.3,4.

In some MSS (Z^2AB) line 244 is erroneously located before 254; cf. GOTOFF 1971,196.

duri - Amani: the Amanus is a part of the mountain-range Taurus, between Syria and Cilicia. Lucan seems to be the first Roman poet who mentions the name. After him only V.Fl. 1,493 does so[1]. The Adn. explain *non cultor*: the inhabitants do not cultivate the soil either because it is *durus*, or because they are brigands, as Cic. Att.5,20,3 states. The latter interpretation seems the best, though historically not quite accurate: Cicero actually defeated the brigands of Amanus in 51 B.C.: cf. Cic. Fam.2,10,1-3; 15,4,4-9.

Nearly all MSS read *non cultor*, but *nunc cultor*, found in Vc, makes sense as well. In that case the inhabitants of the mountain would be presented as 'former brigands', now pacified, just like the Cilicians in 228. However, authority of Vc is not sufficient to change the accepted text. The noun *cultor* is used attributively; similar cases are e.g. 2,540; 8,153-4; 472.

245 Niphaten: many scholars think that Lucan means a river here (cf. ECKARDT 1936,7n10; MENDELL 1941,21-2; SWANSON 1967,s.v.; GASSNER 1972,158n1; DUFF), as Juv. 6,409; Sil. 13,765; Plin. Nat.5,98 a.o.. Originally, the *Niphates* is a mountain in Armenia; cf. Verg. G.3,30; Hor. Carm.2,9,20; Vib.Seq. 113; see RE XVII,706,55ff. Though *volventem saxa* seems possible both of a mountain and a river, the verb *volvere* is mainly used in connection with rivers; cf. OLD s.v.6b[2]. A similar problem occurred in 190.

246 aethera tangentis: *aether* is a word which is suited for pathos and hyperbole, e.g. 6,225; 9,168. In BC it is used 40 times. The motif of extremely high woods may have been suggested to the poet by Verg. G.2,122-4, as the Adn. and Comm.Bern. say. In the Vergilian text they are a feature of India.

Choatrae: a very exotic name: this tribe is only mentioned here and in V.Fl. 6,151. It is called after Choatras, one of the names used for the mountain-range Taurus; cf. Plin. Nat.5,98; further RE III,2355,28ff.

247 ignotum - orbem: some Arabs must have been in Greece and Rome before the Roman civil wars. But Roman contact with Arabia had indeed begun only under Pompey; cf. BOWERSOCK 1983,28-44; RE II,349,22ff. The Greco-Roman world is said to be *ignotum* to them mainly because this adds weight to the paradox in the next line. Lines 247-8 are quoted by Hyg. de limit.const.188,10-11 (Blume-Lachmann) (with *invisum* for *ignotum*).

Arabes, venistis: again, the poet makes a huge jump, now from Asia Minor to Southern Arabia. Arabs are regularly mentioned by Lucan, e.g. 2,590; 4,64; 6,677. Here they are addressed by the poet; cf. on 159. In a very similar context Africans

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1. In Sil. 17,441 it is the name of a warrior.

2. SHACKLETON BAILEY retains HOSIUS' index, which has the weak explanation 'mons et fluvius Armeniae'.

are apostrophized in 9,538-9 (cf. on the next line). Arabs are mentioned among Pompey's troops by App. BC 2,71.

248 **umbras - sinistras**: the idea is that for people in the North shadows fall towards the North, which is 'to the right' if you face the West, whereas for people in the South they fall to the South, which is 'to the left' (*ire sinistras*)[1]. Cf. esp.9,538-9 on Africans: *at tibi... in Noton umbra cadit, quae nobis exit in Arcton*. For this thought cf. Man. 1,375-80; Plin. Nat.6,87; Mela 3,61; Solin. 33,17 a.o.. As to Arabia Lucan is, of course, inaccurate here: it can be true only for the part of Arabia south of the Summer Tropic at 23°,27' northern latitude, during part of the summer; cf. BEAUJEU 1979,214; 218.

249 **tum...**: another jump, now back to the Far East. The line closely resembles 229 in introductory function, syntax, and idiom; cf. *extremos* recalling *recessus* (as well as 227), and *movit*. For *extremus* as attribute of a people cf. Catul. 11,2; Hor. Ep.1,1,45, both of the Indi; further Verg. G.2,114 a.o..

furor...Romanus: for this paradoxical combination exemplifying the civil war, cf. 1,106; 10,62 (*Hesperios...furores*).

Orestas: the reading of all MSS, generally accepted by modern editors, with the exception of SHACKLETON BAILEY who adopts an old conjecture *Oretas*[2]. The problem is that the only known Orestae lived in Epirus (cf. RE XVIII,960,36ff), and can hardly be meant here. The Oretae are a very obscure people living in southern India; cf. RE XVIII,1017,23ff. Their land is mentioned by Plin. Nat.2,184 because shadows fall to the North in summer and to the South in winter. We know a good deal more about the Oreitai (also spelled *Oritae*, cf. Plin. Nat.6,95) who lived in the coastal region between Carmania and Gedrosia; cf. Str. 15,2,1; 15,2,7; RE XVIII,942,40ff. We may safely assume that Lucan means either of these tribes[3], but there is no need to change the text. Lucan may have confused the names or replaced the unknown name by a more familiar one (cf. ECKARDT 1936,8; GASSNER 1972,158n2). The suggestion of BOURGERY a.l. that the poet presents these men 'in wild rage' like the legendary Orestes is charming but speculative.

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1. Considering Lucan's *ire*, it would also be relevant to say that south of the Tropic we see shadows actually 'moving' during the day *from the right to the left*, when we face the direction in which the shadows are casted, i.e. the South. This is actually suggested by the Comm.Bern. and FRANCKEN a.l.. But in astronomical statements of the ancients the West was normally supposed to be faced, 'left' denoting the southern part of the sky, and 'right' the northern. Cf. e.g. Adn.a.l.; Verg. G.1,233-6; Ov. Met.1,45-6; Man. 3,184-5; 5,105; 131; Plin. Nat.2,184; Solin. 33,17; Vitr. 9,4,1; 6; and less known technical sources quoted by Housman on Man. 1,380 and Soubiran on Vitr. 9,4,1. I also wish to point to a very early example in Hdt. 4,42.

2. It is not by Scaliger as is suggested by the app.crit.. BADALI 1989,186 shows that it had been proposed already by Sulpicius.

3. The Oretae would fit in with the astronomical particularities of the section, and could properly be called *extremos*; on the other hand, the Oreitae fit in better geographically, as they are connected with the Carmani in 250, and were better known because of Alexander's campaigns.

250 **Carmanosqueque duces**: the Carmani lived east of the Persians. They are not mentioned in Roman poetry except here. For *duces* Bentley proposed *truces* considering their legendary ferocity (cf. Str. 15,2,14; in BC 1,431; 7,231).

quorum - Arcton: 'from where the southward-inclining sky sees part of the Bear descend below the horizon' (WIDDOWS). A learned astronomical detail, the second one in this section. In the Mediterranean world the constellation Arctos (the Great Bear and Lesser Bear) never sets; cf. Hom. Il.18,489; LE BOEUFFLE 1977,189; in general LE BOEUFFLE 1987,53. Lucan's interest in the question of where it did actually set may also be seen in 9,540-2; cf. further Man. 1,218-20; Plin. Nat.2,178; Mart.Cap.6,593[1]. For *flexus in Austrum* cf. Verg. G.1,241 *devexus in Austros*.

251 **mergi**: several MSS (MZABE) read *mergit* (cf. GOTOFF 1971,196), but *mergi* is certain.

252 **lucet - Bootes**: 'and where Bootes shines and sets rapidly during short nights'. Bootes is a constellation near Arctos, also mentioned in 2,272; 8,180[2]; 10,289; cf. LE BOEUFFLE 1987,72. In the Mediterranean world it takes a long time to set; cf. Hom. Od.5,272; Arat. 581-4. In Latin it is usually called *tardus*, *piger* or *segnis*; cf. i.a. Catul. 66,67; Germ. 139; Ov. Met.2,177; Fast.3,405; Sen. Med.315; Juv. 5,23; Mart. 8,21,3; further TLL II,2129,36ff. *Velox* ('swift to set') is clearly used as a striking contrast to the normal epithet, although in southern regions like Carmania, the constellation actually does set faster; cf. HOUSMAN a.l.. Lucan's phrase *velox...Bootes* is quoted by Isid. de rer.nat.26,5.

exigua...nocte: often translated as 'during a short part of the night' (DUFF; BOURGERY; LUCK; CANALI), but this would be pleonastic in combination with *velox*. It seems more natural to render 'during a short night'; cf. HOUSMAN; EHLERS; WIDDOWS; further Verg. G.2,202; Sen. Dial.10,16,4. Why the nights are called short is somewhat obscure. HOUSMAN a.l. says it may be because the setting of Bootes was wrongly supposed to coincide with the end of the night.

253 **Aethiopumque solum**: the third object of *movit*, involving yet another enormous jump from Carmania to the land south of Egypt. *Aethiopes* is the most common generic word denoting a Negroid type, that is: blacks. In a more narrow sense it denotes the Nilotic type; cf. SNOWDEN 1983,7-8.

quod non...Tauri: 'which would not be covered by any part of the Zodiac, did not the leg of hunched-up Taurus give way and the tip of his hoof project' DUFF. A complex astronomical detail, analysed in detail by HOUSMAN in an astronomical appendix (p.327-9); and BEAUJEU 1979,213-4; 217-8. Taken literally, Lucan's words mean that Aethiopia is situated south of the entire Zodiac, that is, below the Winter Tropic. Lucan is clearly wrong here: he seems to imagine the Zodiac too much to the North, as coinciding with the Summer Tropic rather than the equator. This error may also be detected in Verg. A.6,795-7 (Serv.a.l. quotes Lucan's text), and Stat.

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1. Apparently the ancients were very interested in this question. The qualification 'pédanterie pure et simple' used by BEAUJEU 1979,213 for the present text is unjustified.

2. There named Arctophylax. The most common name used by Roman authors is Arcturus, after the principal star of the constellation; cf. LE BOEUFFLE 1977,97.

Silv.4,3,155-7. In reality, Ethiopia is just below the Summer Tropic, which seems to be what the poet tried to express (HOUSMAN,app.329; BEAUJEU,218)[1].

premeretur: *premere* has the technical sense of 'be vertically above', as in 9,691; Man. 1,644; Vitr. 6,1,1.

254 signiferi...poli: 'the Zodiac', as in 7,363 *signiferi...caeli*; and Amm.Marc. 26,1,8; for other combinations, e.g. with *circulus* or *orbis*, see OLD s.v. *signifer* (1) 2b and LE BOEUFFLE 1987,240-2. - For *poplite lapso* cf. on 255.

255 curvati: as HOUSMAN,app.328 says, the constellation Taurus (not to be confused with the mountain-range named in 225) is often visualised as having one hoof projecting southwards, beyond the proper breadth of the Zodiac, touching or crossing the equator. For his 'curved legs' cf. Arat. 515-7; Man. 2,258-9. The *ultima ungula* refers to his projecting hoof.

256 quaque...: after the astronomical digression on Ethiopia, the next element of the catalogue, Mesopotamia, is connected only loosely to 249ff; with *quaque* we may think a word like *regionem* or *populum*.

caput tollit: 'uplifts its head', that is: originates. The expression was used of a person in 10-11. For *caput*, here the source of a river, cf. on 202.

rapido: according to the ancient sources the Tigris was named after the Persian word for 'arrow': Str. 11,14,8; Plin. Nat.6,127; Curt. 4,9,16; cf. also Hor. Carm.4,14,46 (*rapidus Tigris*)[2].

cum Tigride...Euphrates: the two famous rivers of Mesopotamia. Lucan is especially interested in rivers; cf. MENDELL 1941. Here, some special features of the two rivers are focused on. Usually Tigris and Euphrates indicate the border between the Roman Empire and the Parthians. For the Tigris cf. 7,433; 8,370; further e.g. Verg. Ecl.1,62; Hor. Carm.4,14,46; Prop. 3,4,4; for the Euphrates cf. Verg. A.8,726; G.1,509[3]; Prop. 2,10,13; 3,4,4; cf. CHRIST 1938,48. In BC the two rivers are also mentioned together in 8,214 and 438. In Pompey's army troops of either side of the Euphrates are listed by App. BC 2,71.

257 non diversis fontibus: the two rivers originate in the same area, in the mountain-range Taurus near Armenia, but they do not have a common source; cf. Str. 11,12,3; D.S. 2,11,1; see RE VI,1196,58ff. Accordingly, we should translate 'rise not far from each other' as e.g. WIDDOWS, rather than 'from the same source' (cf. EHLERS).

258 Persis: 'Persia', the region between Carmania and Susiane (cf. OLD s.v.). Lucan is certainly wrong here. The rivers run through Mesopotamia and Babylonia, where they flow out into the Persian Gulf. They do not run through Persia at all.

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1. On the constellation Taurus cf. also LE BOEUFFLE 1977,154-5 and LE BOEUFFLE 1987,257, who does not mention the problem.

2. SCHÖNBERGER 1968,43 has seen a political allusion in the adjectives *rapidus* and *magnus*, which he supposes to reflect the dualism of the leaders. Though Lucan happens to use elements of nature to exemplify his tale, this seems far-fetched.

3. Vergil seems to use the Euphrates only as a positive symbol in connection with Octavian's exploits in the East; cf. CLAUSS 1988.

incertum - aquis: 'if the earth mixed the rivers, it seems uncertain which name the water would bear hence'. The potentialis has the force of an irrealis. There was considerable confusion in antiquity on whether the mouths of Tigris and Euphrates were distinct or not (cf. RE VI,1200,31ff; RE II,6,1018,20ff)[1]. Lucan clearly subscribes to the view that the rivers remain separate until they flow out into the Persian Gulf.

He has already referred to the mixing of two rivers (235-6). This motif is used repeatedly, usually with the idea that one of the two 'looses its name'; cf. 1,433-4; 4,22-3; 5,371-80[2]. Here it is even transposed to the level of fantasy (cf. 1,102-3).

With *incertum* we may think *est*. On ellipse in BC, nearly always of a form of *esse*, cf. OBERMEIER 1886,69-70. Some MSS (GV) actually read *incertum est*, which, though metrically possible, does not seem to be the original text.

259 **quod**: used instead of *utrum*, for which HASKINS compares e.g. 1,126; 5,602; Verg. A.12,727; 719.

260 **fertilis - undae**: Lucan adds a detail on the Euphrates: every year it overflows its banks[3]; cf. Hdt. 1,193; Str. 16,1,9; Plb. 9,43; Cic. N.D.2,130; Amm.Marc. 28,7,9; further RE VI,1206,56ff. Its fertilizing effect is compared to that of the Nile (for which see 8,477; 10,219-67; 298-9). *Fertilis* belongs to the Euphrates; it is not impossible to take *fertilis* with *Phariae...undae*, as POSTL 1970,212 does, but this seems less natural. For the 'active' sense, cf. Hor. C.2,6,19; Tib. 1,7,22; Prop. 4,6,76; Ov. Met.5,642; Plin. Nat.3,33. The Nile has already been named in 199; now it is referred to by means of the periphrasis *Phariae...undae*, cf. also 7,692. In BC and other poetry *Pharius* is common for 'Egyptian'.

vice fungitur: 'exercises the function of' as in Hor. Ars 304; Quint. Inst.4,1,75. The phrase implies a comparison, but here we do not have a violent river used in an epic comparison for e.g. a human emotion (cf. Hom. Il.5,87-92; 11,492-5; Verg. A.2,305-6; 10,603-4; 12,523-5; Ov. Met.3,568-71) but one beneficial river compared to another. In general on Lucan's sea and river comparisons, cf. AYMARD 1951,91-4.

261 **subito**: not the adverb, but a form of the adjective, for which see on 60.

tellus absorbet: after a typical detail on the Euphrates follows one on the Tigris. It is said to run underground on part of its course; cf. especially the verses of Nero preserved by the Adn. a.l.: *quique pererratam subductus Persida Tigris / deserit et longo terrarum tractus hiatu / reddit quaesitas iam non quaerentibus undas* (Nero, Frg 1 FPL Büchner; on the fragment see cf. DEWAR 1991); further Str. 11,14,8; Sen.

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1. Nowadays the rivers unite at a distance of some 160 kilometers from the Persian Gulf.

2. The first case (about the Arar) is imitated by Sil. 3,451-4. In the last text the motif is doubled and mystified: first the Peneus is said to take the water of the Apidanos and Enipeus; then it is taken in its turn by the Titaresos flowing from the Styx and said to refuse to mix with a normal stream. Cf. further 9,960. about two rivers.

3. It is wrong to take the lines as explanation of 256-9 (as in EHLERS' 'dann überflutet der Euphrat die Felder...'), which he had incorrectly translated as real, not hypothetical.

Nat.3,26,4; 6,8,2; Troad.10-1; Med.723 (cf. MAYER 1978b); Ep. 104,15; Plin. Nat.2,225; 6,128; Vib.Seq. 143; RE II,6,1009,51ff. In general on subterranean rivers: Lucr. 6,540-1; Aetna 123-7[1]; Sen. Nat.3,2,1; 3,26,3. Lucan further uses the motif in 4,299 and 8,438-9 (of the Tigris again). He is fond of elemental conflicts in nature, as between land and water; cf. on 60 and 230[2].

262 occultos: proleptical; cf. Verg. A.3,237 *latentia*. On prolepsis in BC cf. further LUNDQVIST 1907,210.

rursusque renatum: a pleonasm which is surely deliberate. For that reason we should retain it in a translation, e.g. 'reissuing forth again'.

263 abnegat: the subject is still *tellus*: the earth 'does not deny the river to the sea'. Lucan's circumlocution has lead to errors in the MSS. Thus, several among them (MZRYEW) read *undas* instead of *undis*; cf. GOTOFF 1971,117.

264 inter Caesareas - fecisse duos: 'the fierce Parthians left in doubt whether they would support Caesar's army or the opposite side: they were content to have reduced <the number of Roman generals> to two'. During the civil wars, the Parthians remained neutral, a fact to which Lucan alludes here. After the war, they always remained formidable enemies of the Romans; cf. DEBECQ 1951; SONNABEND 1986,157-299; further literature in Schmidt on 10,47-52. In 8,262-327 Pompey's idea to ask them for military assistance is received with general indignation.

The poet combines the historical fact with another allusion to the motif of Crassus' defeat in 53 B.C., for which see on 126. Surprisingly, the present text is not discussed by SZELEST 1979 on the Crassus motif in BC[3]. For the qualification *pugnax* cf. on 114.

diversaque signa: for this use of *diversus* cf. 327; 548; 2,43; 275-6; 6,783; see also TLL V,1577,16ff.

266 tinxere: sc. with poison. While archery, typical of various Asian people[4], was usually condemned as such (cf. Mayer on BC 8,385-6), shooting arrows dipped in poison was considered even worse. Such poisoned arrows were typical of Asian tribes, cf. Str. 11,2,19; Ov. Tr.3,10,63-4; Pont.1,2,15-16; 4,7,11-12. They are also a weapon of the Parthians in BC 8,303-5 and 382-8, both echoing Verg. A.12,856-9.

267 errantes Scythiae populi: Scythian nomads, cf. Hdt. 4,11; Str. 11,2,1; Hor. Carm.3,24,9-10. After Hdt., Scythia had come to be used as a general term for northern Asia; cf. RE II,2,943,1ff. Lucan locates these Scythians between the Bactros

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1. On the dependence of the poet of the *Aetna* on Lucretius, cf. HUNINK 1989.

2. A related motif is that of rivers running beneath the sea; for which cf. on 177 Alpheos. This is varied again in 5,436-41 (cf. Ov. Tr.3,10,27-33), where water is streaming under the frozen surface of the sea.

3. This omission may be due to the use of indexes and concordances rather than the text itself.

4. Especially the Parthians; cf. 1,230; 8,378-9; further e.g. Cass.Dio 40,15; Cat.11,6; Verg.Georg.3,31; 4,313-4; Hor.C.2,13,17-8. Of the Scythians: Ov.Met.10,588.

and Hyrcania. For *errare* in this sense, cf. 7,429 (on the Dahae); the combination *Scythiae populi* echoes 1,367.

Bactros: a river in Bactria, which is a remote region (cf. Verg. A.8,687-8) to the northeast of Parthia and northwest of the Himalaya mountains; cf. i.a. Str. 7,4,31; Curt. 7,4,31; Plin. Nat.6,48; Vib.Seq. 39. This river is not mentioned by other Latin poets. I have not found a parallel for any special coldness of its water (*gurgite... gelido*). It is, of course, a common feature of rivers in poetry.

268 **Hyrcania**: a mountainous region southeast of the Caspian Sea, known for its thick forests (cf. 1,328; 8,343; V.Fl. 6,114) and especially for its tigers: cf. 1,327-9; Verg. A.4,367; Mela 3,43; Stat. Theb.9,15-6; Sil. 5,280-1; Plin. Nat.8,66; Amm.Marc. 23,50. Lucan has omitted the topos of the tigers here. With Bactros in the East and Hyrcania in the West, the area in which the Scythians live is defined, hence *includit*. Neither App. nor Caes. specifies these regions as being represented in Pompey's army. Lucan may have used the name Hyrcania for the sake of decoration; cf. also SYME 1987,51-2.

269 **hinc...**: sc. *venere* or a similar verb.

Lacedaemonii...Heniochi: two horsemen of the Dioscuri from Sparta, are alleged to be the ancestors of the Heniochi, who for that reason are called *Lacedaemonii*; cf. Str. 11,2,12. The poet has made another jump to the West, as the Heniochi lived on the Caucasian side of the Black Sea, north of Colchis; cf. Sen. Thy.1048-9; further e.g. Ov. Pont.4,10,26; Tac. Ann.2,68. The etymology of their name is underlined by *moto - freno*: 'a dangerous people when they shake their bridles' (DUFF); for their ferocity cf. 2,590-1; V.Fl. 6,43.

270 **Sarmata**: cf. on 94.

Moschi: a tribe living in the mountainous southern part of Colchis, known since Hdt. 3,94; 7,78; cf. also Plin. Nat.6,29.

271 **Colchorum...Phasis**: the Colchi lived south of the Caucasus, east of the Black Sea, into which the river Phasis, often mentioned by Roman poets, flowed out; cf. Str. 11,2,17. Colchis and Phasis were associated with the legend of the Argonauts (cf. 190).

qua - Phasis: *qua* is syntactically vague again (cf. 256), while *rura secat* recalls *culta secat* of 210. These *rura* may be *ditissima* because of their fertility (cf. Str. 11,2,17), but ancient scholiasts are probably right in explaining it as an allusion to the Golden Fleece.

272 **qua - Halys**: sc.*secat rura* or a word like *est* or *fluit*. The Halys streams in Central Asia Minor, east of Paphlagonia and Galatia, and flows out into the southern part of the Black Sea. The river is called *Croeso fatalis* because king Croisus of Lydia crossed this border between his kingdom and that of Cyrus of Persia, misinterpreting the oracles he had been given, and was defeated in 547 B.C.; cf. Hdt. 1,46-91 esp.53[1]; RE Suppl.V,459,39ff.

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1. Hdt. paraphrases an oracle here. In the original text of the oracle, the name Halys probably figured.

qua vertice - ampliat orbem: 'where the Tanais falling from Riphaean heights has given the names of different parts of the earth to its banks, and, as the border between Asia and Europe, separating the boundary area in between, enlarges now this continent, now that, according to where it bends'. A deliberately long and complex sentence, effectively symbolizing the appearance of the river itself.

273 **Tanais**: the modern river Don, which like the two preceding rivers flows out into the Black Sea, on the north side. Ancient sources disagreed about its sources (cf. RE II,4,2162,34ff), but Lucan subscribes to a common view that it sprung from the legendary Riphaean mountains. These were thought to be situated in the extreme North; cf. RE II,1,846-916; for the Tanais originating there, cf. Mela 1,115; Plin. Nat.4,78; Sid.Apoll. 2,243-4; Isid. 13,21,24.

The Tanais was generally considered as the border between Europe and Asia: cf. Scymn. 881-2; D.P. 14; Str. 11,2,1; Curt. 6,2,14; 7,7,2; Mela 1,8ff, Man. 4,676-81; Plin. Nat.4,78[1].

diversi nomina mundi: 'names of different parts of the earth'. For *mundus* in the sense 'earth' or 'world' cf. CHRIST 1938,18-21; it is used in a similar context in 8,290.

275 **Europae, mediae**: for homoeoteleuton in Latin hexameter poetry cf. HÅKANSON 1982b. This is the only example in his corpus involving an adjective and a substantive which are not connected.

mediae - terrae: 'separating the boundary area in between'; this means that the middle becomes the border, as in line 61. For the un-Vergilian *confinium* used in its local sense (already used in 2,435 and 3,61); cf. Paneg.in Mess.70, Ov. Met.14,7; 15,291.

276 **nunc hunc, nunc**: an unusual homoeoteleuton again, involving more than two words. HÅKANSON 1982b,115 compares e.g. 4,681; Verg. Ecl.5,38; G.3,113; Ov. Met.1,266. For the beginning of the verse cf. e.g. Lucr. 2,131; 214; 575; 6,199; Verg. A.5,441; 10,355; Ov. Met.4,622; Ep.10,19. *Hunc* is the reading of MZCV preferred by most modern editors to *huc* of Z^2ABRcett. (cf. GOTOFF 1971,117), HASKINS, BOURGERY and CANALI being the exceptions. As a consequence, *illum* of V is adopted as the original reading rather than *illuc* of all other MSS.

277 **orbem**: 'continent' or 'part of the world', cf. Verg. A.7,224; Hor. Carm.3,27,75; Man. 4,677 (with HOUSMAN's note)[2]; TLL IX,917,70ff. For the thought HASKINS compares Plin. Ep.8,20,7.

quaque - Pontus: 'where the Black Sea drains the water of lake Maeotis, <here> a torrential channel'. Another difficult sentence, due to the unclear syntactical function of *fretum torrens*. It seems best to take it as accusative, as apposition to *Maeotidos.. undas*. Thus it points to the Cimmerian Bosporus, where the water of

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[1] For many centuries this remained the *communis opinio* among geographers Not until the 18th century was the border defined along the Ural, cf RE II,4,2166,18ff

[2] In an earlier stage HOUSMAN had proposed to translate 'enlarges the globe', see HOUSMAN 1901

lake Maeotis (the Sea of Azov) flows out into the Black Sea[1]; cf. also HOUSMAN's note a.l.. For the ending *egerit undas* cf. 5,464. Probus GLK 4,228,22 quotes *quaque - Maeotida*. The region of Pontus (located south of the Black Sea itself) is mentioned by Caes. Civ.3,3-4; App. BC 2,49.

278 **Herculeis...metis**: the so called Pillars of Hercules, Calpe (Gibraltar) and Abila (Punta Almina), at the extreme West of the Mediterranean. Cf. also 9,654; further Plin. Nat.2,167; TLL III,1741,22ff. These Pillars of Hercules were the border between Europe and Africa, but Lucan does not underline this aspect here, as he did in the case of the Tanais[2]. Cf. also below on Gades.

aufertur gloria: lake Maeotis was believed to have a channel to the northern Oceanus, similar to the Pillars of Hercules: cf. Plin. Nat.2,168; and other sources listed by HOUSMAN on 277[3]. *Auferre* is one of Lucan's favourite dynamic verbs, which he uses 33 times. Several points are made with the word, cf. 708; further 4,23; 464; 9,956. On Lucan's technique of creating points by replacing active constructions by passive ones and *vice versa*, see HÜBNER 1975.

279 **Oceanumque - Gadis**: 'and they say that not only Gades receives water of the Ocean'. Through outlets such as the Pillars of Hercules water of the Ocean may be said to enter the Mediterranean. Here it is implied for the supposed connection between Oceanus and lake Maeotis, which is connected with the Black Sea and the Mediterranean. Gades, the modern Cadíz, is located at a short distance to the west of the Pillars of Hercules. It was considered to be the end of the world; cf. 4,671-3; 9,413-6; further e.g. Hor. Carm.2,6,1; Stat. Silv.3,1,183; Sil. 3,3-4; 17,637-8. The Oceanus surrounding the continents always receives the poet's special attention, because of its grandiose dimensions.

The Lucanean passage is far from simple, but the text can be properly understood. There is no need to transpose lines 278-9, as some older editors have done (cf. FRANCKEN's note a.l.) nor to write *negat*, the reading found in G (with *Pontus* as subject) instead of *negant*, read by all other MSS. Regrettably, SHACKLETON BAILEY has reintroduced *negat* into the text again, although HOUSMAN (and already SAMSE 1905,33) had adequately defended and explained the MSS' text. With *negant* we may think of a subject like *homines*.

280 **hinc**: not 'from another quarter' (DUFF; cf. LUCK) or 'furthermore' (cf. BOURGERY; EHLERS), but simply 'from here', as the Essedoniae and Arimaspi are tribes living near the Black Sea. *Hinc* takes up *quaque* of 277.

Essedoniae: this Scythian tribe is also known as Issedoniae or Issedoi. Ancient sources disagreed as to its precise location, but Lucan seems to imagine them

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1. LUCK takes *fretum torrens* with *Pontus*, and DUFF's translation is confused. On the other hand, the versions of HASKINS, GRIFFA and WIDDOWS ('through that seething channel') are too explicit, though they probably reflect what Lucan means.

2. The poet is less clear on the border between Africa and Asia; cf. 9,411-20.

3. Already Hom. Od.11,13ff seems to imagine some outlet into the northern Oceanus, but ancient sources did not have accurate knowledge of the whole region; cf. RE XIV,591,28ff.

somewhere near the Black Sea; cf. Hdt. 4,13; Mela 2,2; V.Fl. 6,750 (the adjective *Issedonius*); Plin. Nat.4,88; 6,50; Amm.Marc. 23,6,66 a.o.; further RE IX,2235,4ff. In the MSS, the name is spelled correctly only by P.

auro: Greeks and Romans often wore their hair tied up with hair pins or similar ornaments, sometimes made of gold; in epic cf. Verg. A.4,138; 148; 7,815-6; 10,138; 11,576; Stat. Theb.5,228-9. The land of the mythical Arimaspi was usually imagined in the far north of Scythia. Many stories were told about its fabulous gold, said to be guarded by griffins; cf. Hdt. 3,116; 4,13; A. Pr.803-6; Paus. 1,24,6. Both in 7,756 and here Lucan alludes in an original way to this legendary gold. *Arimaspe* is of course a vocative: Lucan uses anastrophe again to bring variation in his list.

281 **Arius**: the poet makes a sudden jump to the Southeast once more. The Arii (Gr. Areioi) lived in a region southeast of Parthia, southwest of Bactria. The scholia a.l. are entirely wrong, locating them in Spain or Thrace. Cf. further Hdt. 3,93; Plin. Nat.6,93; Tac. Ann.11,10; RE II,619,37. Line 281 is quoted by Prisc. GLK 2,72,25.

282 **longaque - equo**: 'and the Massagetae, who end the long fast of the Sarmatian war by the horse on which they flee'. The sentence is slightly obscure. What is meant is that the Massagetae drink the blood of horses; see below. With *Sarmatici...belli* the poet has returned to the region already mentioned in 270. For *ieiunia...solvere* cf. 4,332; Ov. Met.5,534-5; Fast.4,607; Calp. Ecl.4,35; Boeth. Cons.2,c.5,5.

283 **Massagetes**: another wild Scythian tribe, living east of the Caspian sea; commonly named in poetry; cf. Hdt. 1,201-16; RE XIV,2123ff.

quo fugit equo: two topoi in three words. Eastern tribes are often said to flee on horses during a fight; cf. e.g. Hor. Carm.1,19,11-2; Sen. Oed.118-9; further Verg. G.3,31; Hor. Carm.2,13,17-8. This motif is combined with that of drinking the blood of horses; it is recorded as a custom of the *Massagetae* in Sen. Oed.470; Stat. Ach.1,307-8; Sil. 3,360-1; Claud. 3,311-2; of other peoples: Verg. G.3,461-3 (the Geloni and others); Hor. Carm.3,4,34; V.Fl.5,585. For 'drinking blood' cf. further BC 9,760.

Equus is, of course, the normal word for 'horse'. Usually, Lucan adopts the more elevated terms as *sonipes* or *comipes*, more than Vergil or Ovid do; cf. WATSON 1985,442-4.

Geloni: yet another Scythian tribe, living east of the Tanais; cf. Hdt.4,102; Verg. G.2,115; 3,461 (where it is called *acer*); Verg. A.8,725; Hor. Carm.2,9,23.

284 **non, cum...**: the final part of the catalogue is dominated by an elaborate comparison. The enormous extent and variety of Pompey's army could not be matched by the armies of Cyrus, Xerxes or Agamemnon. Both the pathos and the suggestion of world wide dimensions are typical of BC and this catalogue in particular (cf. on 169-297). By means of elements such as *classibus* and the allusion to Agamemnon, the catalogue is once more placed in the tradition of Homer's catalogue of ships in Il.2, just as it had started by naming the Boeotian ships; cf. KÜHLMANN 1973,292; LAUSBERG 1985,1577-8.

The function of the comparison seems difficult to classify. Strictly speaking, it is not a climax, since there is no continual intensification; nor does it have the form of a priamel, since the final elements do not in any sense replace or transcend the preceding ones; cf. RACE 1982,24-7. Actually, the list will be continued with North

Africa in 292-5, to be concluded only in 296-7 with a pathetic sententia. The comparison seems intended to heighten the pathos and round off the composition of the catalogue as a whole.

In this comparison, as elsewhere in BC, myth (Agamemnon) is not separated from history (Cyrus, Xerxes). Lucan seems to be the first poet who uses historical material in his comparisons; cf. HUNDT 1886,11; AYMARD 1951,37-42. Some other examples are: 1,118; 303-5; 2,541-54; 672-7 (equally on Xerxes[1]); 4,821-4[2]. For the threefold arrangement of the comparison cf. 2,162-5; 4,134-6; 6,51-4; 7,777-80.

Memnoniis - regnis: 'leading his troops from the reign of Memnon'. Memnon is a mythological figure, son of Aurora. The Persian city of Susa is called *Memnonion astu* by Hdt. 5,54; (cf. Hdt. 7,151). Here, *Memnoniis* does not mean much more than 'from the East', as in Prop. 1,6,4. Both poets may have been influenced by Verg. A.1,489.

285 **Cyrus**: we cannot know for sure which Cyrus is meant here. It must be either Cyrus the Great, the founder of the Persian empire in the 6th century B.C., or Cyrus the Younger, who is best known for his attempt to seize power from his brother Artaxerxes, described in Xenophon's *Anabasis*. Considering 8,226 and the context here, the former seems more likely[3].

It is not clear which of his expeditions is alluded to. Any of them could be meant; thus FRANCKEN says that it is the march against Croesus (already hinted at in 272); cf. also WIDDOWS. However, SCHÖNBERGER 1968,196 has come up with an interesting proposal: Cyrus' expedition against the Massagetae (Hdt. 1,201-16) may be meant here. An allusion to that war would indeed be very much to the point here since Cyrus lost utterly.

effusis - telis: that is: each of the soldiers had to shoot an arrow and these arrows were then counted. A similar story on Xerxes' unusual counting methods is told by Hdt. 7,60 (cf. also Curt. 3,2,2-3)[4].

286 **Perses**: the reading of most MSS (RMQGUVWJ)[5]. HOUSMAN takes it to refer to the army of Cyrus. However, this is very awkward after mentioning Cyrus in the

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1. Here Caesar's works are compared to Xerxes' bridge of ships over the Hellespont in 480 B.C..

2. Silius followed Lucan's example. In Sil. 3,406-14; and 8,619-21 such comparisons appear at the end of catalogues.

3. In the other case, *deducens* and the reference to a movement 'from the East' would point to Cyrus the Younger's *anabasis* with Greek mercenaries towards the East. This would be strange Latin, even according to Lucan's standards. Supporters of Cyrus the Younger, e.g. LUCK and CANALI, do not address this problem. Most scholars have not seen a problem at all.

4. The Comm.Bern.a.l. give a different interpretation of Lucan's text: when departing for war, all men shoot an arrow at a certain spot. On return, each man takes one arrow. The remaining arrows then indicate the number of war casualties.

5. P has *Perse* and ZABYE *Persis*; cf. GOTOFF 1971,197.

preceding clause, as SHACKLETON BAILEY 1987,78 rightly remarks. Similarly, LUCK translates 'Perserheer'. But considering *effusis...telis*, *Perses* seems to indicate a person rather than a group. Surely Lucan means Xerxes here, the famous Persian king already mentioned in 2,672, where nearly all MSS actually read *Xerses*. For that reason, scholars like FRANCKEN, and recently SHACKLETON BAILEY, have changed the text to *Xerses* or *Xerxes*. But we may well retain the traditional MSS reading, and interpret 'the Persian' as 'the Persian king, Xerxes'; cf. also BADALI 1989,162.

ultor: sc. Agamemnon, whose wish to revenge his brother Menelaos caused the Trojan war (to which Lucan alludes in e.g. 10,60-1). With Agamemnon, the mythological element enters the comparison, and the link with Homer's catalogue of ships in Il.2 is underlined once more; cf. above on 284.

287 **percussit**: poetical of a man in a ship, as in 5,489 (*harenas*).

classibus: this word once more refers to Homer's catalogue of ships; cf. 284.

288 **tot...tot** (290): anaphora of *tot*, as in 2,653-4; 4,389 a.o., is reinforced by intermediate anaphorical *tam*, both adding to the pathos of the section. With *tot* and *tam* we may add in thought: 'as now in the case of Pompey'.

nec: the order of words is inverted, as with *nec* in 651; cf. *sed* in 446; 504 a.o..

289 **cultu**: 'in dress'; cf. OLD s.v. 5 and 6; BOURGERY's 'aux moeurs diverses' is wrong.

dissona: linguistical variety among troops is an old epic topos: cf. Hom. Il.2,804; 4,437-8; Sil. 3,221. It is often combined with variety of clothes and customs, like here; cf. Verg. A.8,723; Sil. 16,19-21; Claud. 5,106-7; cf. further Liv. 1,18,3-4; Tac. Hist.2,37,2.

290 **ora**: a harsh caesura within the first foot, as in 520; 4,271; 7,533; 565; 8,74; 9,371; 10,72; 206. This metrical phenomenon is comparatively rare, especially in Lucan; cf. GÉRARD 1980,27-74, esp.68-70.

tot - populos: 'so many peoples Fortuna roused to send them as companions into measureless ruin...'. Once again, the end of the catalogue is clearly connected with the beginning[1]. Here, accent is laid once more on the enormous, global dimensions of the war, on Fortuna (cf. 169) and on Pompey's imminent defeat; cf. on 169 and 170. The future participle, here *missura*, strikes a familiar note as well; cf. on 6 and 170.

ruina: this is, of course, a key word as to the meaning of BC as a whole. The concept of *ruina* (and *ruere*) lies at the very heart of Lucan's tale of the Civil War, and dominates many places in the text. Cf. e.g. 1,150; 2,253; 290; 4,393; 5,637. In total, *ruina* occurs no less than 42 times, always at this position in the verse. The word is discussed by SALEMME 1976,311-20[2]. Here, the word must be taken as

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1. Still, the composition of the catalogue cannot be called a 'Ringkomposition', as ECKARDT 1936,5 proposes. That term should be restricted to cases where there is more than just a correspondance between the beginning and the end.

2. SALEMME's study includes a useful list of cases in which the word is used. Regrettably, his analysis looses itself in an inextricable knot of patterns of symbols.

dative with *missura*[1], cf. 5,770-1 *ruinae praestare caput*, further 7,655; Verg. G.4,90. A related motif is that of *ekpyrôsis*, for which see on 60.

291 et: a number of important MSS writes *sed* or *set* (MZABRYW; cf. GOTOFF 1971,158), but this reading would spoil the meaning.

dignas - exequias: 'a funeral procession worthy of Magnus' burial'. A grim Lucanean paradox: the numerous troops which have been listed in 169-297, surpassing the greatest armies the world has ever seen, will not function as a war machine, but merely as a 'funeral procession'. As at the beginning, the poet leaves no trace of hope or expectation as to the final outcome of the battle

292 non corniger Hammon...: somewhat surprisingly, the catalogue appears to be still unfinished The continent of Africa has not yet received any attention, and is dealt with in the last few lines But then again the name of Egypt, the only country we would absolutely expect here, since it will be the site of Pompey's *funus* (cf. 8,536-872), is carefully avoided In 2,633 and 636 Pompey was said to have asked for Egyptian military support But in 8,531 it will turn out that his request has not been granted. In that verse the Egyptians reaffirm their neutrality.

Lucan has clearly adapted his historical material here The presence of Egyptian troops in Pompey's army is well attested to (App BC 2,71, Caes. Civ 3,3, 3,5). The poet perhaps presents Egypt as neutral in order to enhance the pathos of the tale of Pompey's death[2].

corniger Hammon. the sanctuary and oracle of Juppiter (H)ammon was situated in an oasis in the land of the Garamantes, to the west of Egypt, cf esp 9,511-86, on which see AUMONT 1968,315-7. The statue of the God was adorned with horns, cf. 9,514, 545 This detail is a poetical topos, even the ending *corniger Hammon* is traditional, cf Ov Met 5,17; 15,309, Ars 3,789, Sil 3,10, 14,572, Claud 8,143 Cf. further Ov. Met 5,328, V.Fl 2,482, Stat Theb 8,201-2.

293 Marmaricas· Marmarica is a coastal region in North Africa, to the west of Egypt. As the following description proves, we must take *Marmaricus* in the broader sense of *Africanus* here, as in 6,309

294 quidquid - Syrtis 'the whole extent of arid Libya from the Mauri in the West to the Paraetonian Syrtes on the eastern coast' Lines 294-5 form a somewhat vague apposition to *Marmaricas catervas*. These troops come from all over North Africa the Mauri lived in Mauretania in the West, whereas the Syrtes (the Greater and Lesser Syrtis) are the shallow waters near the central part of the coast, roughly between Carthage and Cyrene Lucan describes them in 9,303-18 Here they are named after the city of Paraetonion on the border of Egypt (not Egypt itself, cf. above on 292) Lucan is rather inexact here, as the city lays many miles East of the Syrtes (cf HELM 1956,185), but he has been followed by Sil 5,356.

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[1] HASKINS suggests it may also be genitive with *comites*, comparing 2,346, but this seems less likely

[2] If Egypt were one of Pompey's allies, the main character in the tragic tale would be king Ptolemy, who would have to decide between supporting or killing Pompey As it is, Pompey is the protagonist, and his cruel death is focused upon

296 **felix**: this epithet recalls Pompey's *felicitas*, for which see on 21. Here it refers to Caesar, as in 1,374; 4,359; 5,422; 7,702. For the use of *felix* in relation to Caesar, Pompey, or other generals, cf. AHL 1976,287-90; Van Amerongen on 5,292f; further TLL VI,442,39ff.

ne non - orbem: 'fearing that lucky Caesar would not get all at the same time, Pharsalia offered him the world to conquer all at once'. The final lines 296-7 recapitulate the central ideas of the whole catalogue. The inevitable defeat of Pompey, the world wide scale of the war and Fortuna's favour for Caesar (cf. on 169 and 170) are all summed up in a brilliant, cynical paradox.

Caesar: with this name, attention is turned back from the long list to the war actions. Secondly, it anticipates the next block (298-452), in which Caesar will be the central figure again.

297 **pariter**: one of the very few adverbs in BC 3. Lucan uses exceptionally few adverbs; see on 394. *Pariter* is still used relatively frequently (11 cases, including the present text and 3,587).

Pharsalia: the district around *Pharsalus*. This is the only mention of the name in BC 3. Of course, the name emphasizes the decisive role of the battle in BC 7, which has dominated the entire catalogue; cf. SCHREMPP 1964,6-7. For the title of Lucan's work, see on 14.

orbem: the catalogue of Caesar's troops ended with this same word (1,465). That may be more than just coincidence here.

298-455 Caesar marches to the neutral city Massilia. After negotiations fail to win the city to Caesar's side, he decides to take it by force, and prepares his army for battle.

(1) Summary:

After leaving Rome, Caesar crosses the Alps and marches to the ancient Greek colony Massilia. The city holds on to its neutrality, and embassadors try to persuade Caesar to respect its position. But the effect is quite the reverse: his answer is as angry and threatening as ever. Preparations for battle commence. Caesar builds his camp on a hill opposite the town, and connects this hill to the town by means of a huge wall. He decides to destroy a sacred grove as well. As his soldiers seem reluctant, he exhorts them by giving the sacrilegious example of felling an old oak. All opposition having been broken, the grove is cut down.

(2) Structure:

Following the catalogue of Pompey's troops, this third major block in book three returns to Caesar[1]. He has already been the central figure in 46-168, a block intimately related to the present one (see below). Strictly speaking, the entire section 298-762 forms one block. However, in 452-5 Caesar's departure to Spain

[1]. The action in the East will not be referred to again before 5,1, since book 4 deals with events in Spain and Africa.

divides the block into two parts: 298-455 where he is still present, and 453-762 where neither he nor Pompey is present. For convenience I treat them as separate blocks.

After some introductory lines (298-303), the block 298-455 starts with speeches by the embassadors of Massilia and Caesar (the first elaborate, 303-55; the second short; 355-72). Furthermore, Caesar's military preparations are dealt with in a short, technical passage (372-98) and a long, poetical *descriptio* on the sacred grove (399-452). To these two elements explicit praise of Massilia is added, briefly in 300-3 and at some length in 388-98). The poet's desire for *variatio* could hardly be more evident.

***(3) Historical material*:**

As in the preceding blocks, sections which suggest great historical accuracy (e.g. 372-98) alternate with more freely elaborated sections (e.g. 307-72) or free inventions (e.g. 399-452). Once again, the main course of events (298-9; 300-7, with subjective elements; 357; 372-4) plays only a marginal role as connective element between static scenes: the speeches and the description of the grove.

On the whole Lucan's tale diverges considerably from the historical facts, which we may gather from Liv. 110; Caes. Civ.1,34-2,22[1]; Vell. 2,50; Suet. Jul.34; Flor. Epit.2,13,23-5; Oros. 6,15-6-7; D.C. 41,19-25; Str. 4,1,5: (i) The operations lasted over six months, but in BC they are compressed to one single action. (ii) They are placed before the actions in Spain, whereas other sources (e.g. Caes. and D.C.) suggest that events in Massilia and Spain were partly simultaneous. (iii) The battle on land precedes the naval battle, whereas the main fights on land leading to capitulation followed it (cf. further on 509-762). (iv) All aspects of military strategy have been simplified, even those details which might have been used against Caesar. Thus, when the Massilians resisted Caesar, he had to call on additional troops led by Trebonius. Lucan only indicates the long delay this caused (388-98). Nor does he mention the Pompeian generals Domitius (see below) or Nasidius, who fought with the Massilians, any other special bond between Massilia and the Pompeian party, or possible economic reasons for their hostility toward Caesar. Also absent are the first meeting between negotiators, the truce much later between Caesar and Massilia, which was insidiously violated by the latter, the Massilians' strong artillery, or their eventual capitulation. An elaborate account of all military operations is given by RAMBAUD 1976. For the whole of Lucan's adaptations here see RAMBAUD 1960,159-60; OLIVER 1972,326-8; further CLERC 1929,65-156; MENZ 1952,105-12; BRISSET 1964,94-6; and see notes on later scenes[2]; for Massilia see on 301.

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1. The events near Massilia are dealt with in 1,34-36; 56-8; 2,1-16; 22.

2. Other authors treat the material no more objectively, each according to his purposes. In Caesar's version Massilia does not champion neutrality, but openly favours Pompey, revolting against Caesar. Events in Massilia and Spain are consciously mixed to put the Spanish campaign in a more favourable light. His own military weaknesses and losses are minimized or cut out. On Caesar's and Livy's version of the story cf. also GÄRTNER 1983,169-70. Plutarch in his life of Caesar has manipulated the story too: he simply omits it, perhaps in order to avoid a conflict between his

A special problem is posed by the absence of the Pompeian general Domitius, who does appear in books 2 and 7. It seems very strange that Lucan invents the heroic death scene of Domitius in book 7 (597-616), but omits any reference to him here, although he has certainly played an important role in the defence of Massilia. Since Nero had family ties with Domitius, many scholars have related the Domitius problem to Lucan's relation with Nero[1]. But this discussion cannot solve the problem of Domitius' intriguing absence here. To explain it, we may simply look for poetical reasons. Possibly, Lucan did not want to have Domitius fighting against Caesar so shortly after he had been pardoned at Corfinium (2,478-525); a similar heroic action would be merely repetitive. Perhaps more importantly, it would diminish the heroism of the Massilians, because Caesar's wrath would be directed partly at Domitius. Now their tough resistance to Caesar comes out in full splendour, and enables the poet to pass on to new literary themes in the rest of book 3. Mentioning Domitius would have spoiled the effect.

All of Lucan's adaptations aim at blackening Caesar, celebrating Massilia, and, on a higher level, reducing the siege to an elementary, ideological conflict between right and wrong, which is a suitable subject for Lucan to display his rhetorical talents. It seems surprising that for a long time this scene has been regarded as a valid, accurate account of events near Massilia. At the most, we may say that some historical material has been used.

(4) Literary material:

As in the preceding scenes, the poet freely uses speeches (307-72); descriptions (372-88; 399-425); enumerations (440-5) and subjective evaluations (300-7; 388-98; 447-9) to lend pathos to his tale and enliven it. For his poetical adaptations of historical material, cf. above.

It has been pointed out that the events near Massilia are described by the poet mainly because of the exemplary character of the conflict and the Massilians' behaviour; thus already SYNDIKUS 1958,18. In fact, to a certain extent Massilia may be said to display the old Roman *virtus*, which has been utterly lost in Rome itself, and to be paradigmatic of this ancient Rome; cf. especially ROWLAND 1969; further SAYLOR 1978,243; HENDERSON 1987,152-3. To use a more general term, we may consider the whole scene as an *exemplum virtutis*, for which cf. LITCHFIELD 1914.

The block is remarkably similar in structure to 46-168. Both start with a march by Caesar towards a new target, on which the poet comments himself (298-303; cf. 46-89); then the action is retarded and tension is heightened by means of direct speech (303-72; cf. 90-97). Thereupon, Caesar heads for his target (372-4; cf. 97-8).

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admiration for Caesar and his Greek pride.

1. Thus it has been argued that the character Domitius is used to criticize Nero; cf. LOUNSBURY 1975 (who assumed a conscious parallel with the character Crastinus in Caesar's BC); AHL 1976,51-4; or, conversely, to flatter Nero; cf. e.g. BRISSET 1964,188-9; MAYER 1978,85-6. Others, like LEBEK 1976,161-4, say there is no demonstrable connection between Lucan's Domitius and Nero at all.

After an intermediate section which includes subjective evaluations (375-98; cf. 98-112) the main static scene is reached, in which Caesar breaks non-violent resistance and seizes something sacred (399-425; cf. 112-52). This in turn leads to some form of action, including enumerations and concluding evaluations (426-52; cf. 153-68)[1]; cf. also MITCHELL 1973,49-54.

Apart from this rather abstract correspondence, Massilia and its defenders seem to represent a sharp contrast to Rome and Metellus, earlier in book 3. Furthermore, they may be compared to the Thessalian town of Larisa, which loyally welcomes Pompey immediately after his defeat (7,712-27).

The whole scene is yet another instance of a 'Widerstandsszene', for which cf. on 112-153 (4).

(5) Imitations:

The scene of the siege of Massilia, particularly the naval battle, has influenced Silius (cf. on 509-762). The land battle influenced Silius' picture of Saguntum in his book 1; cf. MEYER 1924,58-60.

298-372 Caesar marches to Massilia. He is met by embassadors imploring him to respect the Massilians' neutrality, and giving evidence of their readiness to die for liberty. Caesar's answer is as harsh as ever. Far from respecting the city's neutrality, he intends to destroy it.

(1) Summary:

Caesar leaves Rome, and crosses the Alps. The ancient Greek colony Massilia adheres to previously made agreements, and wants to remain neutral. Its embassadors try to persuade Caesar not to attack their city, using various arguments, and showing the city's firm intention to oppose Caesar by all means and at all costs. To this, Caesar responds angrily: he will not respect the city's neutrality, because it is insincere; instead he will destroy the city.

(2) Structure:

In some introductory lines, the scene is transposed to Massilia[2], and the city itself is characterized as a righteous opponent of Caesar's. The rest of the scene is almost entirely made up of speeches by the two parties. It ends in yet another violent outburst of Caesar's, leading up to concrete military measures.

(3) Historical material:

As elsewhere in BC, the poet has merely selected elements from the historical material. He is very brief on Caesar's departure from Rome (see on 299). Both Caesar (Civ.1,35) and D.C. (41,19) indirectly report a speech by Massilian embas-

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1. Of course this is merely a rough sketch. It does not pretend to describe both structures in full detail. Apart from correspondences, differences remain: for example, the main static part 112-52 consists of speeches, whereas 399-425 use other literary techniques.

2. Rapid changes of scene are common in BC. Here they also continue the huge geographical jumps made throughout 169-297.

sadors concerning the city's neutrality, but Lucan's account differs on several points. The main difference is that he seems to have transposed Caesar's speech from the first speech to the response. Thus the Massilians' speech is turned into a spontaneous proposal instead of a response to Caesar, and Caesar's speech has become a furious and disproportioned reaction to well-considered resistance instead of a strategy employed on rebellious subjects. See further notes on 307.

***(4) Literary material*:**

Here too, the historical material has been worked out with all possible poetical and rhetorical means; see the detailed notes below. Especially noteworthy are the various arguments used by the Massilians (307ff), the allusions to the war of the Giants (315-20) and the siege of Saguntum (349-55); see the notes to those passages. All elements aim at providing a very negative image of Caesar, and an exclusively positive image of Massilia.

As a 'Widerstandsszene' this scene is intimately connected with the Metellus scene. On this, and on Caesar being dominated by *ira*, see on 112-153. But whereas Metellus has been pictured as in no respect better than Caesar, here Caesar's opponent is morally far superior. By means of this change, the poet avoids repetition, and creates a new tension within book 3. For other parallels with 46-168, see on 298-455.

298 ille: Caesar, whose name had still been used in 296.

deseruit: he left Rome on April,7th and arrived in Gallia Ulterior on April,19th; cf. RAMBAUD 1976,853. Lucan is very succinct here. He merely indicates the transition of the scene to Massilia, omitting more detail on what has happened in Rome. He might have referred to Caesar's failure to achieve what he had wanted (cf. the last sentences of Cic. Att.10,4,8; Caes. Civ.1,33,4[1]), but this would have complicated his tale, which now has rhetorically effective simplicity. No motif is given for Caesar's march (not counting a slight hint in 3,336); this is the poet's style, cf. on 54.

trepidantis...Romae: the phrase evokes Rome's fear (cf. 97-112) once again. The allusion is very effective here, as a contrast to Massilia's courage, which will dominate the rest of book 3. Rome will still be frightened (*trepidam*) in 5,381. For *moenia Romae* see on 90.

299 nubiferam...Alpem: cf. *Alpis / nubiferae colles* in 1,688-9[2]; Claud. 14,307; for *nubifer* of a mountain cf. also Ov. Met.2,226. In BC, the Alps occur 11 times, the singular only here (and in the MSS' reading of 1,481).

Caesar regularly passes rivers, seas and mountains. But passing the Alps was associated with one of Rome's most dreaded enemies, Hannibal; cf. HALKIN 1934; for the effects of fear of Hannibal during the Republic cf. BELLEN 1985. In

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1. Caesar gives a different account of his departure. But he, too, says *infectis iis quae agere destinaverat*.

2. That text is uttered by a matron in Rome receiving visions of the future. It may contain an oblique reference to the siege of Massilia.

Lucan's time, Hannibal's crossing the Alps had become a declamation subject in schools; cf. Sen. Nat.3,praef.6; Juv. 10,166. Already in 1,183 Caesar's crossing the Alps is explicitly mentioned. In one of his speeches, the general himself says that the panic in Rome is not different *quam si Poenus transcenderet Alpes / Hannibal* (1,304-5). Finally, after the battle of Pharsalus, we see a comparison between Caesar and Hannibal, turning out to Hannibal's advantage (7,799-803). Cf. further 1,255; Cic. Att.7,11,1; further HOLLIDAY 1969,49; AHL 1976,107-12[1]. Lucan may well have intended this association of Caesar with Hannibal here too, even though Caesar is marching away from Rome. For Hannibal associated with other foreign enemies such as the Gauls, cf. on 154. Lucan's Caesar in its turn influenced Silius' Hannibal; cf. VON ALBRECHT 1964,54-5; 165.

agmine...rapto: Caesar's swiftness is emphasized in numerous places, cf. on 51; for similar phrases on 116 *rapit gressus*. The dactylic rhythm of line 299 underlines the rapid movement it describes; it is quoted in full by Prisc. GLK 2,328,17.

300 **alii...populi**: of course, the citizens of Rome are the best example. Lucan has clearly intended a contrast between Rome's fear (cf. 97-112) and Massalia's courage.

301 **Phocais...iuventus**: a periphrasis for Massilia (Greek *Massalia*), the present Marseille. The city was an old colony of Phocaea in Asia Minor and was renowned for its moral qualities and culture (cf. Cic. Flac.63; Mela 2,77; Liv. 37,54,21-2; Str. 4,1,5; V.Max. 2,6,7; Sil. 15,171-2). It had played an important role in the region for a long time, and had always been a faithful ally of Rome; cf. e.g. Cic. Font.13-4; Off.2,28; Phil.8,18; Amm.Marc. 15,11,14[2]. For details on topography and archaeology of ancient Massilia, cf. RE 14,2,2130ff; CLERC 1929,157-229; BENOIT 1972; RIVET 1988,219-25[3]. Lucan does not distinguish between Phocaea in Asia Minor, the mother city of Massilia, and Phocis in Greece; cf. 340; 5,53 and his use of *Phocaicus* (see on 172). The same confusion may be seen in Sen. Dial.12,7,8; Gell. 10,16,4; Sid.Apoll. C.23,13. Lucan sometimes confuses names for poetical and possibly metrical ends; for a similar confusion cf. on 192. The adjective *Phocais* occurs only here in BC, further Sil. 1,335; 4,52 a.o..

In hexameter poetry, *iuventus* is used only in nom.sg., the casus obliqui being expressed with forms of *iuventa* (cf. on 729 *senecta*).

in dubiis: 'in a dangerous situation'; for the neutr.pl. as substantive in this sense cf. 8,241; Stat. Theb.3,6; 521; Sil. 1,562; see further TLL V,2121,36ff.

302 **non Graia levitate**: *levitas* was a proverbial quality of the Greeks in Roman eyes, the very opposite of their own *gravitas*: cf. Cic. Flac.19; 24; 57 a.o.; Lig.11 (already quoted by the scholiasts); Liv. 9,18,6; Sen. Con.1,6,12; see further OTTO 1890,155;

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1. According to AHL,109n45 this may be the reason why Pompey in 76 B.C. crossed the Alps along a route which was different from that of Hannibal. On ancient passes through the Alps cf. especially CHEVALLIER 1972,188-91; also WALSER 1986 with further literature.

2. Cicero also praises Massilia's resistance to Caesar; cf. Cic. Att.10,12a,2.

3. Reports on local archeological research are regularly published in the journal *Gallia*, recently e.g. 44,1986,413-26.

on the political use of the word cf. WEISCHE 1966,38-52. For contempt of the Greeks cf. also 7,270-4.

In epic poetry *Graius* is normally used instead of the prosaic *Graecus*; cf. AXELSON 1945,51-2. Massilia and its inhabitants are constantly called 'Greek' by Lucan; cf. 355; 358; 388; 463, a.o.. The city actually had retained much of it 'Greekness' even in Tacitus' time (cf. Tac. Ag.4,2); cf. MILLAR 1981,147[1]. But Lucan may also have chosen this adjective to suggest a battle of 'Greeks' and 'Romans' (as Caesar's troops are called; cf. 463; 502; 529; 556 a.o.)[2]. Paradoxically, his general sympathy is with the 'Greeks' rather than the 'Romans'.

fidem: a word with strong moral and political connotations. *Fides* was a virtue typical of ancient Rome, the city which Massilia reflects to some extent in this scene; cf. ROWLAND 1969,204-5.

signataque iura: 'sealed agreements'. This combination refers to the treaties between Massilia and Rome; for *iura* in this sense, cf. Prop. 3,20,15 (*signandaque iura*); Liv. 33,20,7; 34,32,20; Ov. Met.7,503; Sil. 11,160; TLL VII,2,686,22ff; *signo* is 'to attest by affixing a seal'; cf. OLD s.v.8b. What Lucan seems to mean, is that the Massilians remain loyal to Rome by resisting her main enemy, Caesar. For the combination of *fides* and *iura* cf. Verg. A.2,541.

303 **causas**: 'principles' or 'the right cause'. This concept is often connected with the Pompeian party, especially the Senate: cf. *causa melior* 7,349; 8,94; Caesar can only be *dux causae melioris* (4,259) by the use of violence; cf. also the famous phrase in 1,128 *victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni*; further *causa Senatus* 4,213; 6,245; 7,76; see also Vell. 2,49,1-2; It is opposed to *fatum* and *Fortuna* which belong to Caesar's side, cf. 5,42-4; 8,94-6; Caes. ap.Cic. Att.10,8b,1; in general see also Sen. Con.9,1,1.

tamen ante...: the speech (307ff) is introduced by two verbs (*parant* and *orant*) in a long sentence. Normally, Lucan chooses simple forms for this purpose, often a single, prosaic word; cf. on 13 *inquit*. This elaborate form is frequently used by Vergil, but Lucan has only a few cases: cf. only 6,693-4; 8,70-1; 482-3; 10,173-5; see SANGMEISTER 1978,61-2. The plural subject of *parant* and *orant* is rather vague: it must be either 'the Massilians', deduced from 302 *Phocais...iuventus*, or 'Massilian envoys', deduced from the immediate context.

In either case the subject is a rather indefinite collective, a 'mass'. Anonymous speeches (with a singular or plural subject) are as old as the epic: thus in nine instances in Homer's *Iliad*, an anonymous *tis* reflects upon the events of the war; cf. DE JONG 1987b. However, as DE JONG points out, these are no formal addresses but private prayers or utterances, reflecting the opinion of the masses. This Homeric

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1. Even on the famous *Tabula Peutingeriana* the city figures as 'Masilia Grecorum'.

2. Although 'civil war' is the basic paradox underlying the work, real battle scenes of Romans against Romans are comparatively rare before the battle of Pharsalus; only some scenes in books 4 and 6 may be seen as such. It seems as if Lucan reserves the motif for the climax of book 7.

device is uncommon in Vergil[1], but Lucan gives it new life: cf. e.g. 1,247-58; 676-94; 2,36-42; 43-64; 67-233[2]; 5,681-99; 9,847-81.

Here Lucan goes further than Homer. The anonymous speech is responded to in another speech. Thus it is used not merely as an ornament, but functions as a main element in the tale; cf. 5,259-95 and 8,109-27. In general, it seems justified to say that the masses have become more important in Lucan's epic; cf. BORGO 1976; JOHNSON 1987,112-3[3]. Sometimes they seem to voice the poet's own opinions; cf. MARTI 1975,77-81.

ante: adverbial; HASKINS compares Verg. A.12,680 (in a similar context of *furor*). With the praise of 300-3 the poet has anticipated the outcome of the conflict with Caesar. With *tamen ante...* he returns to the beginning of the conflict: before taking an attitude of resistance on principle, the city tries to persuade the general.

furorem: *furor* (and *furere*) is one of the most prominent characteristics of Caesar; cf. e.g. 1,155 (in comparison); 250; 2,551; 6,228; 282 (*furor*) 7,551; 797; 10,72. Cf. further on 94. The pleonastic *indomitum* may be suggestive of Caesar's boundless rage; cf. also 1,146 *acer et indomitus*.

304 **viri**: sometimes *vir* appears to replace the pronoun *is* (for which see on 611). Cf. 4,121; 6,167; 172; further OBERMEIER 1886,15. The case of 3,51 does not belong to this group, *viro* being accompanied by an adjective.

deflectere: here with an unusual object *mentem*. The TLL V,359,10ff paraphrases it here as *mutigare*, and compares Lact. Mort.Pers.11,4 (with *insaniam*).

305 **pacifico**: adjectives on *-fex* or *-ficus* belong to the highest poetical register; cf. AXELSON 1945,61. Here, MSS waver between *pacifico* (MZVPA[v]) and *pacifero* (Z^2ABR and others); cf. GOTOFF 1971,117. Both make good sense, but *pacifero* is rather weak after *nubiferam* in 299; *pacifico* has better MSS authority and is generally accepted.

There seems to be a problem of focalization with *pacifico* (and *hostem*): does the poet reflect the judgement of the Massilians, or his personal opinion? Considering the context from 299 on, the latter may be right. As there was not yet open war, we must translate *pacifico* rather loosely, e.g. 'peace-minded', 'peacelike'.

306 **orant**: for the subject of the verbs in this sentence cf. on 303.

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1. Cf only minor cases like A.7,68-70; 8,285-303, 11,481-5, or instances where a *vox* sounds in the air, like 3,39-46, cf JUHNKE 1972,115.

2 The anonymous person is designated in Homeric fashion as *aliquis*, and speaks for no less than 150 lines.

3 JOHNSON,112n10 rather bluntly says 'With Lucan, the crowd enters literature in earnest as a major character'. Even in a Marxist's view the important role of masses in BC is acknowledged, cf BERTHOLD 1975,300, who none the less calls the work 'der Schwanensang einer verfallenden herrschenden Schicht'. This may all seem rather exaggerated, but it is certainly wrong to say that epic poets, and particularly Lucan, deliberately disregard the masses; for this view cf. SCHRÖTER 1975,102-3.

Cecropiae - Minervae: 'holding out the twigs of Athenian Minerva', that is, carrying olive-branches, the traditional sign of peace or supplication; cf. e.g. Verg. A.7,154-5 with Fordyce's note; 8,116 with Eden's note[1]; Liv. 24,30,14; 29,16,6; 30,36,4. In poetry, *Cecropius* is normal for the metrically impossible *Atheniensis*. Cf. 2,612; 10,181; Verg. G.4,177; 270. Minerva has already been mentioned as *Pallas* in 205.

307 **semper in externis...**: The elements in the Massilians' speech are of different kinds, but this is slightly obscured by the composition. (i) First come arguments related to *fas*: their loyalty (307-11) and piety (312-29). This involves a rhetorical comparison (315-20), a pragmatic argument (322-3) and other rhetorical devices (324-9). (ii) Then come arguments related to what is *utile* for Caesar: he will benefit from Massilia as a place to negotiate (329-35) and will not profit from their military assistance (336-42). (iii) Finally, firm resolution to oppose Caesar at all costs is shown (342-55), mainly in pathetic images. The third element is evidently intended as a climax. Curiously, it seems to undermine the first two elements, which appeal to reason and common sense. Its violent emotion is bound to provoke Caesar's *ira*, which may be the very reason why Lucan included it. The section belongs to the small group of long speeches (over 25 lines; only 18 cases out of 119). On the speech as a whole cf. FAUST 908,49-65; RUTZ 1950,119; TASLER 1971,220-9.

Both Caesar (Civ. 1,35) and D.C. (41,19) indirectly report a speech by Massilian embassadors[2]. They agree with Lucan on the main point, the city's desire to stay neutral. But on various minor points the accounts differ. Most importantly, Lucan omitted a reference to a first meeting between Caesar and the embassadors. Thus what was in fact a response to proposals by Caesar, has become a spontaneous suggestion (cf. also above, on 298-372). Nor does the poet include any mention of favours bestowed upon the city by Pompey or Caesar (Caes. Civ.1,35,4-5). Neither element would have contributed to the poet's aim (cf. above on 298-455). For maximum effect, Massilia's resistance has to be pictured as gloriously as possible. This comes out clearly in the final element of readiness to die: it is missing in Caes. and D.C..

semper - aetas: 'that Massilia always bound up her fate with that of your people in your foreign wars, is attested to by every period included in Latin annals'. The Massilians start their speech with a long sentence, in which the word order is complex and the tone lofty.

308 **Massiliam**: the first mention of the name. Lucan does not often use it, probably due to its metrical inconvenience; cf. 360; 4,257; 5,53.

309 **Latiis...annalibus**: Lucan's phrase is borrowed by Rut.Nam. 1,311 and Aus. Mos.424.

311 **devotas...dextras**: *dextrae* is the equivalent of *copiae* according to TLL V,934,58ff (comparing 4,207, and several places in Silius, e.g. Sil. 4,406). But we may also take

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1. There *paciferae* is used as adjective of *olivae*. This need not be relevant to Lucan's line 305. Considering the motif, words expressing 'peace' are only to be expected here.

2. We may safely assume that a similar speech occurred in Livy's lost account as well; cf. PICHON 1912,126-8; SYNDIKUS 1958,37.

the word more strictly to mean 'hands which commit violence', for which cf. 326; 2,167; 10,88; TLL V,926,9ff. *Devotus* has a military ring, too: it may be used for loyalty of soldiers, cf. 4,533. For the ending *proelia dextras* see 4,207; Ov. Fast.1,569; Sil. 5,643.

externa in proelia: the third explicit expression used to denote a regular war, after *externis. bellis* (307-8) and *ignoto.. orbe triumphos* (310). In the next two lines three different expressions for 'civil war' will be used: *funestas acies* (cf. 7,27; Sen. Con.1,1,6); *dira. .proelia discordes*; and *civilibus armis*. Thus, these first lines of the speech contain some conscious redundancies, as 303-6. *In* is final as in 674; 1,6; 5,742; a.o..

313 **lacrimas**: it is hardly surprising that Lucan uses 'tears' as an instrument to enliven his tale, and emphasize its pathos; see also 607, 733, further TUCKER 1982. The expression *lacrimas dare* occurs in Verg. A 4,370 and fairly often in Ovid (see Bomer on Ov. Met.2,341).

civilibus armis: another element we can expect to occur in an epic such as Lucan's· the phrase concludes the verse in no less than 12 cases; e.g. 1,44, 325, 5,285, 526.

314 **secretumque**: the word has been taken to mean 'asylum' for people unwilling to take part in the war (thus HASKINS; BOURGERY; LUCK). But this is a point which is made later, in 330-5. A scholium in V, quoted by HOUSMAN, seems to have grasped the correct sense: *secernimus nos a vobis*; cf. also OLD s.v.1c. The entire phrase is beautifully rendered by EHLERS: 'so sind...Tranen und Abkehr unsere Antwort'.

tractentur - manus: a difficult, enigmatic clause. Taken literally, 'let no sacred wounds be handled by any hand', it makes no sense. HUBNER 1974 has come up with a brilliant suggestion: we can take *vulnera* as 'wounding weapons', as in 568, 5,320, 7,619, 8,384; Verg. A.2,529; 7,533; 10,140; 11,792, Ov. Met.7,383, 842, 9,126, Liv. 9,19,11[1]. This would explain *tractentur*, since *tractare arma* is a regular expression (in poetry cf. Ov. Fast 5,397; Sen. Tro.775), and fits the context well. However, *sacra* still poses a problem HUBNER paraphrases 'die fluchwurdigen Wunden schlagen', which seems a bit too strong, and SHACKLETON BAILEY in his crit app. suggests 'non tangenda', referring to OLD s v.5 ('sacred, sacrosanct'), which seems a bit too weak. Perhaps the best solution is obtained with the negative sense 'execrable' (OLD s.v.2c) This would result in 'let the execrable wounding weapons not be handled by any hand'. Most translations are very disappointing here[2].

315 **si caelicolis...**: in the following lines the Massilians say that men would never interfere in a war between Gods, or in the war of the Giants, not even in favour of Juppiter himself. In a similar way, it is implied, they will not even support Caesar,

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[1] These and other parallels in HUBNER,353 5 For a similar metonymical use of *vulnus* cf Smolenaars on Stat Theb 7,270

[2] LUCK and BOURGERY simply pass over the problem, DUFF suggests that 'wounds of gods' are meant, EHLERS and CANALI are unnecessarily free WIDDOWS has 'wield death-dealing weapons', but is too free with the rest of the sentence

but merely attend the outcome of the battle. The lines constitute a mythological comparison to the war of the Giants, a traditional motif in poetry; cf. e.g. Hom. Od.11,305-320; Verg. A.6,583-4; Hor. Carm.2,19,21-2; 3,4,49-52; Ov. Met.1,151-60; 182-4; 10,150-1; Tr.2,71; Prop. 2,1,39; Petr. 123,208; Sil. 6,181-2; Claud. Carm.min.53 a.o.. In BC, civil war is compared to the war of the Giants on two other occasions: 1,33-8 and 7,144-50; and it is probably alluded to in 7,477-79. Thus its main function seems to be to suggest the cosmic dimensions of the war. It may also have presented itself to Lucan because of the location in Thessaly: here the Giants launched their attack, and the battle of Pharsalus took place. On the present text, see further AYMARD 1951,29-31; MORFORD 1967,55[1]. For another mythological element, cf. 286.

Caelicoli is an old poeticism for 'Gods'; cf. Enn. Ann.445 Skutsch; Verg. A.2,592; 641; 3,21; 6,554 a.o.; Ov. Met.1,174; 8,637. In BC cf. 6,444; 7,658; 10,197.

316 **terrigenae**: the Giants were born from Gaia. *Terrigena* is a rare masculine substantive first used in Lucr. 5,1411; 1427; not in Vergil, but cf. Ov. Met.3,118. It is applied to the Giants, as here, in Ov. Met.5,325; Sil. 9,306; V.Fl. 2,18.

temptarent: the verb is used in a similar context of the war of the Giants in Aetna 43; Gratt. 63.

317 **non tamen**: by implication, the Massilians declare themselves unable to decide whether Caesar or Pompey is right. This argument can be found in Caes. Civ.1,35,3; D.C. 41,19,2.

pietas humana: a combination of two traditional Roman values. For *pietas* in BC cf. HEYKE-FALLER 1970; for *humanitas* LIPPS 1966,70-103; RIEKS 1967,167-96. *Pietas* functions mainly as expression of moral and political resistance against Caesar, being the very opposite of *furor* (cf. 303); cf. also AHL 1976,274-9.

318 **sortisque deorum**: to be taken with *ignarum*.

319 **per fulmina - Tonantem**: that is, men would know that Jupiter was reigning in heaven by looking at his lightning, rather than watching or participating in the fight. Here, and in 7,447 *mentimur regnare Iovem*, Lucan echoes Hor. Carm.3,5,1-2 *caelo tonantem credidimus Iovem / regnare*; cf. Acro a.l. (quoting Lucan's words); ZETZEL 1980; PASCHALIS 1982. In addition, the poet may have thought of texts like Lucr. 2,1093-1104; Verg. A.4,206-10. For the connotations of *regnare* in BC cf. on 145.

Throughout the comparison with the war of the Giants, Caesar was tacitly equated with Jupiter[2]; here this is reinforced by the motif of Jupiter's lightning which calls to mind Caesar's initial characterisation in book 1, where he is compared to lightning (1,151-7).

320 **Tonantem**: after Augustus had dedicated a temple to *Iuppiter Tonans* in 26 B.C., this became a normal name for Juppiter; cf. Bömer on Ov. Met.1,170. In BC cf. 1,35;

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1. More speculative are BRISSET 1964,60; SCHÖNBERGER 1968,90, and recently, DUMONT 1986, who argues that the war of the Giants functions here as an allegory for fighting against nature (in a Stoic sense).

2. In the related passage 1,33-8 Nero was equated to Jupiter.

196; 2,34; 5,96 a.o.. Several other traditional epithets for the supreme God's name occur as well; cf. GREGORIUS 1893,65.

caelo: unlike Vergil and Ovid, Lucan normally prefers poetical synonyms like *aer*, *aether* and *polus* to the plain *caelum*; cf. WATSON 1985,442.

321 **adde quod**: a combination not used by Vergil, but the reader of hexameter poetry will be reminded of Lucretius (cf. Lucr.1,847; 3,829; 4,1121-2; 6,330) and Ovidius (cf. Met.2,70; 13,117; 854; 14,684; Fast.3,143 a.o.); cf. further SCHUMANN 1983, s.v., who does not mention the present text. In BC see 5,291; 776; 10,223[1].

322 **nec sic - coactis**: that is, there are so many people eager to take part in the war spontaneously, that no one has to be forced to do so. For *scelerum contagia* cf. 369 *contagia belli* and TLL IV,627,53ff, comparing several Christian texts, like Cypr. de bono patient.4. For similar use of *contagium* cf. Hor. Ep.1,12,14 (with *lucri*); Ov. Tr.3,14,17.

323 **gladiis**: *gladius* is the common Roman sword, but this word is very rare in elevated poetic style, where *ensis* is preferred; Vergil has only five cases of *gladius* (A.9,769; 10,313; 513; 12,278; 789), as opposed to 64 of *ensis*. Similar figures may be found for other poets; cf. the convenient comparative table given in TLL V,2,608,38ff. Lucan is the main exception to this rule: he uses *ensis* 53 times (in BC 3 see e.g. 142), but *gladius* no less than 45 times. This is not just an anomaly in Lucan's elegant diction, as AXELSON 1945,51 says, but probably reflects a conscious choice. Because of its very harshness and prosaic quality, the word seems perfectly suited for describing a war in which traditional heroism and dignity have been utterly lost; cf. also LYNE 1989,103-4.

324 **vestra recusent fata**: the opposite of *populo communia vestro..fata tulisse* (307-8).

325 **alius**: sc. other than a Roman, as HASKINS rightly explains.

committat: the MSS show several variants here, of which only *com(m)itetur* (UV) seems worth mentioning. *Committat*, the reading of ZPG, is generally accepted.

326 **cui non...**: the argument of 326-9 is that relatives surely cannot bring themselves to fight each other. Accordingly, war should be left to them alone: in that case it would soon come to an end. Lines 326-7 are intended as rhetorical questions: the Massilians consider civil war an illusion, an impossibility. However, readers of BC know only too well that relatives do take up arms against each other. In fact, the motif of 'killing friends and relatives' constantly returns, especially in book 7; cf. e.g. 1,4; 376-8; 2,149-51; 4,245-50; 562-6; 7,181-3; 453-4; 548-9; 626-30; 762-3; 773-6; 10,464-7. For this difference in the knowledge of the speaker and the public, we may properly use the term 'tragic irony'. At the end of their speech, the Massilians will destroy the illusion they create here, threatening to fight a special 'civil war' of their own: 351-5.

327 **diversi**: 'standing on the opposite side', 'among the enemies', as in 264 (q.v.).

328 **finis - fas est**: a problematic line. There is a complex problem of text and interpretation, because the MSS' *finis rerum* has been taken to mean 'the end of the

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[1]. AXELSON 1945,47 is surely right in claiming that the combination is not a prosaism. It is even used in Hor. Carm.2,8,17.

world', as in 7,137. In that case we would have two options: either (i) we must accept Schrader's conjecture *scelerum*, as HOUSMAN and several modern editors do (recently SHACKLETON BAILEY), and render 'the end of crimes is at hand when you do not give arms to any men who may wear them' (that is: if you do not enlist non-Romans); or (ii) we must adopt *nunc* of Z^1M^1 instead of *non*, and *illis* of UV (and other younger MSS) instead of *ullis*, rendering 'the end of the world is at hand, if you give arms now to those who may wear them' (that is: if you do enlist non-Romans). The latter option is chosen by BOURGERY, GRIFFA and CANALI[1]. Both options produce a perfectly Lucanean paradox.

However, there may be an equally satisfying solution, which does not involve changes in the normal text of the MSS. HASKINS already suggested that we might interpret *rerum* as 'troubles', 'civil war', like the Greek *pragmatoon*, but for this negative sense he could not adduce adequate parallels. But if we take *rerum* neutrally as 'events of the war', we may find several parallels in BC, the clearest examples being 5,68-9 (*Appius... finemque expromere rerum / sollicitat superos*)[2]; 179 (*tanta patet rerum series*) and 779 (*eventus rerum*). This would result in: 'the end of the war events is at hand, if you do not give arms to any men who might wear them'. The interpretation of the paradox is the same as in (i) above, but the traditional MSS' text may be entirely retained.

329 **quibus fas est**: on the meaning cf previous note. For the ellipse of the verb, cf. OBERMEIER 1886,69-70.

nobis...: from arguments related to *fas*, the Massilians turn to arguments related to what is *utile* for Caesar. Concerning the first of these, an offer to hold negotiations with Pompey within their city, Lucan seems to agree with D.C. 41,19,2, who does not mention 'negotiations', but evidently means the same thing. In Caesar's version (Civ.1,35,5) the city closes its gates to both contestants. It was apparently a Massilian custom not to allow anyone to enter the town in arms; cf. V.Max. 2,6,9.

summa precandi: 'the substance of what we request you' (WIDDOWS), not 'the sum total of our petition' as DUFF translates, cf. OLD s.v. *summa* 7b.

330 **terribilis**: a strong word, normally used as the first word in a Vergilian or Lucanean hexameter (thus 8 times in Verg. A[3] and 7 times in BC); cf. MACKAY 1961,313.

aquilas...signa: the *aquila* or 'eagle' was the standard of a full legion, usually made of gold; cf. FOLSE 1936,62-3. *Signa* were the standards of smaller military units, e.g. the maniples. Here they function mainly as a symbol for the army as a whole (cf. 1,339 *aquilas deponere*). For the ending cf. 5,349; Ov. Am.2,9,3; Fast.4,7; for the combination of *aquilae* and *signa* cf. 1,6-7; 244; 477.

332 **excludique - bellum**: 'and allow us to keep war out after letting Caesar in'.

333 **exceptus sceleri**: *excipere* in the sense 'exclude from', 'exempt from' can have a dative: cf. Verg. A.9,270-1; Sen. Con.10,5,1; Sen. Dial.2,9,4; Tac. Ag.15,2.

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1. It was first formulated by CORTIUS and defended by NUTTING 1934b,318-21

2. In 7,137 *tot rerum finem* actually refers to the end of the world

3 In Verg. A.9,503, a reminiscence of Ennius, the word appears later in the verse

334 **invictae...urbi**: Rome; cf. Liv. 5,7,10; Rhet.Her. 4,66 (*urbs invictissima*). Uttered by the embassadors, the adjective is no more than a flattering epithet of Rome, meaning either 'undefeated' or 'invincible'. But readers of BC may also perceive a sneer at Caesar: a denyal of either his past successes in taking Rome or his possible future successes. The tragic irony (see on 326) is continued in *fatum si consulat*: the public knows that to the poet Fate and Fortune seem intent only on bringing death and doom upon Rome (cf. on e.g. 21; 51). For *consulere* with dative cf. 1,60; 4,477; 8,257; 624.

335 **inermes**: cf. above on 329.

336 **vel...**: the second *utile* argument of the embassadors. Caesar will not benefit from Massilia's military support: he will loose time (336-7) and he will gain nothing from them, considering their traditional military weakness (337-42). The element of delay will come back later (cf. on 392). The element of military weakness is perhaps reflected in Caes. 1,35,3 *neque sui iudicii neque suarum virium esse*, and certainly contradicts the firm words in 307-11, as well as historical facts. Evidently, it is highly rhetorical.

cum tanta - Hiberi: 'when such an important crisis of war in Spain calls you'. It is only here that we see a glimpse of Caesar's motivation for the expedition to the West. Spain will be the battle area in book 4. For the ending *discrimina Martis* cf. 4,770; 5,723; cf. also 8,389.

337 **deflectis**: Caesar could have passed Massilia on the north side. Therefore, the word is correct: Caesar goes out of his way.

pondera rerum: 'weight of affairs'; cf. 7,504; Ov. Tr.2,237; Ib.247. Lucan likes to use the word in various metaphorical expressions; cf. 4,58; 5,354-5; 7,686; 8,22; 280; 9,951. The whole phrase *non pondera - sumus* is quoted by Serv. On Verg. A.10,528.

338 **momenta**: 'that which turns the scale', as in 56; equally to be connected with *rerum*. Here the abstract noun is used as predicate of a personal subject; cf. e.g. 4,819; 7,61 with Dilke's note; Sil. 8,251; Liv. 42,45,8; cf. further Tac. Hist.1,59; Claud. 15,251.

felicibus armis: for the ending cf. 4,359; 8,100; 9,1099; Verg. A.7,745.

339 **manus**: taken as an apposition to the subject of *sumus*, it may best be translated metaphorically 'our handful of men (which has never handled weapons with success)'[1].

patriae - exul: here again, Massilia seems to recall Rome (cf. on 298-455 (4)). The story of its foundation after the mother city had been burnt down, also clearly connects BC with its main model, Vergil's *Aeneid*.

exul: significantly, *exul* is repeatedly used in relation to Pompey, e.g. 2,730; 7,379; 703; 8,209; 837. In this way, Massilia's cause is linked in a subtle way with Pompey's.

340 **exustae**: Lucan refers to the capture of Phocaea by the Persians in 545 B.C., related by Hdt. 1,164-9 (not mentioning Massilia). The view that the city was founded after this event is expressed by several authors; cf. Paus. 10,8,6; Gell. 10,16,4; Solin. 2,52. However, it had been founded some 50 years earlier; cf. Iustin. 43,3,4; Hieron.

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1. Cf. EHLERS 'einc... Handvoll Männer'. Several translators miss the additional point of the alleged smallness of the troops.

Chron.99; further Liv. 5,34,8. The evacuation in 545 B.C. may have been confused with the actual colonization earlier on. On this question see RE XIV,2,2130,50ff. Opposing the overwhelming evidence of the MSS, and without giving any reasons, SHACKLETON BAILEY has reintroduced into the text a conjecture of BURMANN's: *exhaustae*. In accordance with BADALI 1989,166, I restore the MSS reading.

Phocidos: Phocaea in Asia Minor is meant; cf. on 301 *Phocais*.

341 **moenibus exiguis**: ablative of cause or instrument, to be constructed with *tuti*, as the third apposition to the subject of *sumus* 338, after *numquam... manus* and *patriae...exul*.

342 **sola fides**: this pathetic expression occurs twice in BC at the same metrical position: 2,243; 8,141.

si claudere...: the final element of the speech (342-55) is a pathetic declaration on the part of Massilia. It will suffer starvation and death rather than give in to Caesar. As pointed out above on 307, this motif is missing in other sources; it may have been added by Lucan as a suitable pathetic finale of the speech.

Sieges of towns play an important role in epic poetry since Troy. They involve stock elements such as hunger and thirst, fire and pestilence (cf. also on 97-112 for the *urbs capta* motif). Such elements do not appear here in the actual course of the siege of Massilia, but they are anticipated in this speech in the form of a short catalogue of horrific images. A classification of such 'Kataloge von Augenblicksbildern' may be found in GASSNER 1972,186-97. With the present text we may compare 1,374-86; 2,118-29; 145-65; 4,292-336 (thirst); 6,80-117 (pestilence and hunger); 9,150-64; 700-838[1]. In addition to these literary elements, history comes in with the explicit mention of the heroic resistance of the city of Saguntum against Hannibal (see below on 350), which also links Caesar once again to the dreaded foreign enemy (cf. on 299). Thus, these few lines show Lucan's talent for adapting and adding to his material.

343 **obsidione**: 342-3 have been compared to a phrase in the *Carmen de bello Actiaco*, frgm.VIII,1-2 *portarum claustra... opsidione*; cf. HERRMANN 1966,778[2], but the diction seems rather common. For *claudere* in the military sense of 'blockade' see OLD s.v. 7; TLL III,1303,56ff; *obsidione claudere* is used by Nep. Ep.8,5.

344 **excepisse**: for the infinitive see on 242 *iniecisse*.

parati: sc.*sumus*. The surrounding infinitives (*excepisse*; *quaerere*; *lambere* and *attingere*) depend on this verb. To avoid an asyndeton between 344 and 345, FRASSINETTI 1991,89 proposes to read *undarum <et> raptos...* in the next line. However, emendation seems unnecessary here.

345 **undarum - terram**: 'if you divert our springs, to search for a quick draught of water, and to lick thirstily the excavated soil'. A difficult description of the possible extreme

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1. A rare case of such a catalogue in Vergil is A.3,618-7. Ovid has more: cf. e.g. Met.7,528-613; 13,558-64; 14,193-201; 15,524-29; cf. GASSNER 1972,188-9 with notes.

2. There is no general agreement on the date of the poem in question, but scholars tend to consider Lucan as the earlier author. Cf. BENARIO 1983 with further references.

effects of thirst. *Aversis fontibus* anticipates Caesar's possible strategic measures; *flumina avertere* is common practice during a siege; cf. Caes. Civ.1,61,1; 1,62,1; 3,49,3; Hirt. Gal 8,40,3, Liv. 41,11,3; Fron. Str.3,7. For *avertere* similarly used of a *fons* I have found only Hirt. Gal 8,43,4 and Fron. Str.3,7,2.

Raptos haustus may best be taken proleptically, *rapere* being one of Lucan's favourite verbs for any form of 'rapid' or violent action; cf. on 116. The Massilians do not suggest that they will search for a new source or hidden springs, as soldiers in Spain do in 4,292-3[1]. With *lambere terram* they allude pathetically to bits of soil containing the scanty remains of the water in its old course, just like in 4,308-10. The motif of maddening thirst is elaborated on in 4,292-336; in epic poetry cf. further Stat. Theb 4,723-38, Sil. 2,469-71 (in Saguntum) *Lambere* is popular with poets as a metaphor, especially of fire, cf. Verg. A.2,684, 3,574, Hor. S.1,5,74. For the audacious expression *lambere terram* TLL VII,900,8ff adduces a single parallel, Ambros. Hex 5,1,3.

347 **et, desit si...**· after thirst comes hunger (*Ceres* being poetical for 'grain' or 'bread'), equally dealt with in two lines The motif of hunger has already been used in 56-8 in relation to Rome. The Massilians aptly illustrate Lucan's sententia *nescit plebes ieiuna timere* of 58, thus constituting once again the very opposite of Rome. Like thirst, hunger and its effects return later in BC, though with less detail: 4,410-4, 6,108-17[2], cf. also Ov. Met 7,799-822 (goddess Fames), Sil. 2,472-4 (in Saguntum). In Caesar's account of the final surrender of Massilia, the aspect of bad nourishment is emphasized, especially Caes Civ 2,22,1 *rei frumentariae ad summam inopiam adducti* (cf also below on 348)

tunc: *tum* or *tunc* can lend additional force to the apodosis of a conditional period, LUNDQVIST 1907,97 also mentions 368, 4,289, 6,275, 519, 9,923; 933.

horrida - contingi : 'things horrible to see and disgusting to touch' The passive infinitives *cerni* and *contingi* are used in a final sense, thus replacing supinum forms. This construction modelled on the Greek may already be seen with Augustan poets: cf. Verg. Ecl.5,54; A 6,49; Hor. Carm 2,4,11, Ov Ars 1,10, Met.7,380, Sen. Nat 3,19,1, see further LHS II,350-1.

348 **maculato**. again to be taken proleptically 'with mouths getting polluted', an allusion to contamination and pestilence For corrupted food, cf Caes. Civ 2,22,1 *panico*

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[1] Some scholars (BOURGERY, CANALI, LUCK) suggest a direct connection between the water that the Massilians will dig for, and the sources Caesar may divert However, this either strains *raptos* (as in LUCK's awkward 'wenn du und uns so des Wassers beraubt, werden wir, um es zu suchen, Löcher graben'), or *aversis fontibus* (as in BOURGERY's 'dérober quelques gorgées d'eau aux sources détournées'), which cannot be taken as a separative ablative with *quaerere*

[2] It is notably shorter than the large section on thirst But the poet wants to make a different point in book 6 the hunger strikes not the besieged, but the attacking troops of Caesar The hunger motif is used in several other ways in 4,93-7 it leads up to a *locus de divitiis*, in 4,307-8 hunger is paradoxically used as a weapon against thirst, while in 5,449-50 it is one of the imminent dangers at sea

enim vetere atque hordeo corrupto omnes alebantur. The metaphorical explanation of the present text in the TLL VIII,29,75ff as 'turpis, famosus' seems less to the point.

attingere: the reading of nearly all MSS; only V has *corpora* and a reading *carpere* is recorded for some unspecified younger MSS. On the basis of 6,114 CORTIUS has proposed *frangere*, which is adopted by SHACKLETON BAILEY[1]. LUCK does the same, but puts his own name in the apparatus, evidently unaware of CORTIUS' emendation. However, it spoils the point of 'contamination' inherent in *contingere* and *maculato*, the need to emend our text here is entirely absent. The occurrence of the striking phrase *frangere morsu* in a highly similar context speaks against conjecture here. Admittedly, Lucan repeats phrases, but not his most conspicuous ones.

349 libertate: *libertas* was a key word in the Metellus scene (cf. on 114), and is used in a general political sense here, thus creating another link between Massilia and Rome. LEBEK 1976,206n59 is certainly wrong in denying such a link. For the readiness to die expressed in these lines, cf. on 240. Massilia's passion for freedom is also mentioned by Flor. Epit.2,13,25. The line gains additional force through the slow impressive rhythm, as in e.g. 1,270; 689; 2,219; 282.

350 obsessum - Saguntum: 'what Saguntum has accomplished when it was besieged during the Punic War', a comparison involving historical facts, for which see on 284. Here the subject is taken from the Second Punic War (as in e.g. 157; 1,30-1; 303-5; 2,45-6; 4,657-8; 7,408-9; 799-801). The siege of Saguntum by Hannibal was famous in antiquity. Liv. 21,7-15 is its most important account, full of the sort of horrific details Lucan's text relates; Livy's text is analysed by EDGEWORTH 1989. Lucan in his turn influenced Sil. 2,457-695; cf. KÜPPERS 1986,164-70. Cf. further Mela 2,92; Flor. Epit.1,22,6; V.Max. 6,6 ext.1; Petr. 141,9. The heroic behaviour of the people of Saguntum even became proverbial; cf. Liv. 31,17,5; Aus. Epist.26,43; see OTTO 1890,305.

The comparison is very well chosen: it illustrates the Massilians' just cause and unbroken spirit, puts them on the same level as loyal allies of ancient Rome, and associates Caesar with Hannibal (cf. on 299). Note the dynamic verb *gessit*, and the pathetic plural *quae*.

quae: actually, a number of mainly young MSS read *quod*, but *quae*, the reading of ZMYGPW (cf. GOTOFF 1971,117) and the scholiast on Juv. 15,93, is generally accepted.

351 rapti: substantivated. In a translation we may best add the noun 'babies'.

frustraque - fame: 'trying in vain to tug at breasts dry with famine'. The images of famine and of babies torn away from their mothers are combined. Considering the perfect *pectoribus rapti*, and future *mittentur in ignis*, the present *trahentes* may best be considered as *praesens de conatu*.

352 ubera: in epic the normal terms denoting the female breast are *uber* or *sinus*, the technical *mamma* or colloquial *papilla* being commonly avoided, although there was

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1. As BADALI 1989,186 points out, CORTIUS himself chooses *carpere*, because conjecture seems superfluous when the readings preserved in the MSS are sound.

no taboo concerning this part of the body. For *uber*: cf. e.g. Verg. A.5,285; 6,428; Ov. Met.4,325; 9,358; cf. further ADAMS 1980,57-58. Line 352 is quoted by Prob. GLK 4,226,4.

353 **uxor**: the only instance of this word in BC, where *coniunx* is preferred. *Uxor* is avoided in all Latin poetry of higher style; cf. AXELSON 1945,57-8; LYNE 1989,43-5. Here, the more homely term may have been deliberately used to add to the pathos, as WATSON 1985,431-2 rightly suggests. For readiness to die (*fata* is equivalent to *mortem*), cf. on 240 with note.

354 **vulnera miscebunt**: cf. Verg. A.12,720; Stat. Theb.11,535-6. EHLERS has the impressing 'Brüder werden durch Wechselmord verbluten', whereas other editors rather restrain the poet's pathos. Here *vulnus* first appears in the sense 'wound' (cf. 314). The word is very frequent in the last part of book 3: it will be used another 11 times. For relatives killing each other cf. on 326.

bellum...civile: the poet plays with the words. This will be a 'civil' war in a very strict sense of 'civil': 'citizens' of a city killing each other. For the twist RUTZ 1960,468n2 compares Ov. Met.3,117; 7,142. But the Massilians seem to make a further point. The proud undertone of the paradox concluding their speech suggests that they regard their behaviour as 'civil' in the best sense: it is what brave citizens will do for the sake of honour and glory[1].

355 **Graia iuventus**: for the ending cf. 516; and Ov. Ep.12,203.

cum turbato...: at first sight Caesar's speech seems an incoherent and uncontrolled outburst of anger. Themes rapidly change, the speech is directed to more than one group (Caesar's own *cohortes* in 360-370, and the Massilians in 370-2), and the vagueness of time, place and other circumstances enhances this general impression. On closer scrutiny, the speech appears to answer the arguments brought forward by the Massilian embassadors, in roughly a reversed order. (i) he can afford to spend time on taking Massilia (358-60, responding to 336-7); (ii) to destroy the city would benefit Caesar's army rather than damage it (360-6, responding to the 336-55 as a whole); (iii) the proposal to hold negotiations in the town is humiliating and insincere (367-9, responding to 330-5); (iv) Massilia will be punished for not supporting Caesar (369-72, responding to 307-29).

Although Caesar does respond the Massilians' arguments, he formally addresses his soldiers. The main function of the speech is to bring out his character once again. *Ira* and irritation as a reaction to resistance are the dominating factors, just as in 133-40. As noted before, Lucan has changed the sequence of speeches, suggesting that the Massilians speak spontaneously and Caesar merely reacts; see on

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[1]. In the opinion of TASLER 1971,227 the point is that the Massilians serve only the interests of Rome, even at the price of suicide ('selbstlos bis zum Selbstmord'). But from 342 on, the thought of the present interests of Rome is entirely absent: the Massilians are only concerned with the safety and liberty of their own town.

298-372[1]. On the speech as a whole cf. FAUST 1908,63-5; SYNDIKUS 1958,37-9; SCHÖNBERGER 1968,81; TASLER 1971,70-4.

356 turbato...vultu: for the expression on Caesar's face cf. 1,298; 4,363; 10,14; see also Sen. Dial.3,1,4; 4,35,3; 5,4,1. On the different types of expressions of the face, see KÖNIG 1958,129-31.

357 ira ducis: as *Libertas* voiced her resistance through Metellus' mouth, here Caesar's *ira* uses his face and voice to express herself. The formal introduction of a speech by a non living subject is quite exceptional in Vergil (cf. A.6,686; 11,151) but occurs repeatedly in BC: cf. 4,211 (*ira*); 5,761 (*vox*); 7,67 (*robur*); 8,87 (*gemitus*); 9,255; further 6,694; see SANGMEISTER 1978,57-8. On Caesar's *ira* see on 133.

voce dolorem: for the ending cf. 5,494; 8,71; cf. also 1,258.

358 vana - cursus: Caesar's first words destroy the Massilians' hope that his rapid march will prevent him from attacking them. He states that he has plenty of time to destroy the city. Significantly, his words are not directly addressed to the Massilians themselves, who are designated in the 3rd person plural until line 370. The first word *vana* in a way qualifies the entire preceding speech, as TASLER 1971,72 rightly says.

359 Hesperium: the name refers to Spain here, as the scholiasts already note. Usually, it denotes Italy, cf. 4; 48; 66. With the mention of Spain we have reached another geographical extremity of book 3, after the references to the Far East, the North (cf. 89; 267-83) and the South (253-5; 292-5). Together they create the impression of world wide dimensions (see also on 169-297). Lucan likes to present Spain as situated near the end of the world: cf. 454; 4,1; 147; 7,541.

ad axem: there is some uncertainty in the MSS here. Several younger MSS (Z^2A^2BRYEW) read *in axem*; cf. GOTOFF 1971,66; 117.

360 Massiliam - vacat: a strikingly concise expression of Caesar's lust for war; cf. the following note; for *vacat* see on 103.

gaudete, cohortes: Caesar's enjoyment of resistance and war was already manifest in 82 (for his eagerness for war see also on 51, and cf. e.g. 5,476; 6,29). Now it takes the form of a satanic pleasure in destruction; as in 1,150; 2,439-40 and 7,794-9. This enjoyment of crimes belongs to the larger sphere of *furor*[2]; cf. GLAESSER 1984,1-11. It may be seen in Seneca as well: cf. Sen. Med.911-4; Thy.1096-8; Cl.1,25,1; 1,26,3; further Tac. Hist.1,44; 2,70[3]. Here, Caesar even tries to communicate it to his troops, addressed collectively as *cohortes* rather than as individual

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1. In addition, Caesar himself gives a considerably different version of what he said; Caes. Civ.1,35.

2. Cf. the joy of Erictho, 6,541-2; 525-6; 604; 795. Caesar even denies joy to others; 4,278-9; 6,284. Strong examples of positive joy in BC are rare indeed; cf. 3,446-7; 8,127-9 (Pompey); 9,403 (Cato).

3. Of course, joy as such also belongs to the epic tradition. In Homer, it is mostly concrete and straightforward, but in Vergil's *Aeneid* it is used in a highly conscious and subtle way. Lucan has about the same number of cases of joy as Vergil, but seems to have reduced its importance again; cf. MINICONI 1962,especially 570-1.

milites. For the thought of soldiers rejoicing at war to prove their strength, see Sen. Dial.1,4,4, which Lucan may have had in mind here.

361 **obvia**: by stressing the unexpected character of the battle Lucan's Caesar shows that he is led by emotions rather than a long term strategy: for him the battle is nothing more than a welcome chance to fight offered by Fortune. The rhetorical thought sheds additional light on the nature of Caesar's *ira*: it is blind *furor* devoid of reason or moral considerations.

bella: 'war' or 'opportunities to fight'.

362 **ventus ut...**: on several occasions Caesar is compared to elementary forces of nature, which bring out both the cosmic importance of the civil war, and the demonic dimensions of Caesar's character[1]; cf. 1,151-7 (lightning); 5,336-7 (sea); 405 (flames of heaven); 10,447-8 (flames of Aetna); further he is compared to animals in 1,205-12; 293-5 5,405 and 10,445-6. Here and in 5,336-7, Caesar himself makes the comparison. For comparisons with two elements see the list in AYMARD 1951,108, and cf. on 284.

The parallel of fire losing force when out of fuel seems fair to us, but wind certainly does not become weak when there are no objects it can meet with. Lucan may have thought of current explanations of whirlwinds, as Sen. Nat.5,13,1-2; the idea is taken up by Stat. Theb.12,728-9. But we find the very opposite notion in BC too: in 9,449-54 the wind is said to rage freely in the Libyan desert, due to the lack of obstacles which would have tired it out (*lassatur*). The poet chooses the idea which fits best his immediate rhetorical aim, without aiming at consistency.

Caesar's enjoyment of resistance now appears to be nothing less than a need for it. Like the really virtuous man needs evil and battle to prove his qualities, Caesar needs them to continue his furious raging. Lucan seems to have inverted the normal idea on virtue; cf. especially the idiom in Sen. Dial.1,2,4 *marcet sine adversario virtus...*; 1,2,9. Caesar is evil incarnate, the best exponent of what civil war amounts to: a world turned upside down.

robore densae: *densus* with ablative is rare before Ovid; cf. Bömer on Ov. Met.12,247. Already OUDENDORP compares Ov. Met.14,360 *densum trabibus nemus*; V.Fl. 3,484. Two MSS (the important M, as well as B; cf. GOTOFF 1971,181) read *denso*, which is possible but less probable, and one MS (the important Z) *dentur*, which makes no sense.

363 **spatio - inani**: 'blown out in empty space' (WIDDOWS).

364 **nullis obstantibus**: an ablative absolute involving a rare case of substantivated plural in a case other than nominative or accusative. OBERMEIER 1886,11 wrongly takes it to be a dative.

365 **damnum - armorum**: with his paradoxical comparison Caesar inverts the Massilians' implicit suggestion that his army will suffer damage if he involves Massilia in the war: by becoming a rebellious enemy, Massilia actually proves beneficial to his army.

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1. Vergil uses such similes too, e.g. A.10,270-5; 602-4; 803-10; 12,521-6. But in BC they have become an important means to characterize persons; cf. AYMARD 1951,105.

366 qui - potuere: 'those who might have been conquered'. *Potuere* has irreal force here; cf. LHS II,327-8.

367 sed, si - patent: 'but if I come alone, degraded, after dismissing my army, then their houses stand open!'. Caesar's reaction to the proposal to start negotiations with Pompey (330-5) is cynical[1]. Most editors wrongly change the tone by adding words like 'they say that...' (DUFF; cf. EHLERS), or printing a question mark, as HOSIUS and FRANCKEN, still followed by BOURGERY, LUCK[2] and BADALI; cf. HOUSMAN's critical note.

368 excludere...inclusisse: the word play takes up the Massilians' own words in 332. Most translators render *inclusisse* as if it were an present infinitive. However, in this case the perfect tense adds to the meaning: 'they do not so much want to exclude me, but to have me included'. This is even more threatening for Caesar, who mistrusts the Massilians' intentions, for fear of being trapped within the walls of the city. Personally he repeatedly uses military means to surround others, cf. on 372-98 (4); this sufficiently explains his suspicion here.

369 contagia belli: Caesar remains cynical. In a modern text, these words would probably be printed within quotation marks, so as to emphasize the distance between narrator and focalizer. For *contagia* see on 322.

370 poenas - petita: heavy allitteration of *p*, as in 1,353; 673; 2,559; a.o.; cf. Schmidt on 10,107. A modern statistical approach of this important stylistic device is GREENBERG 1980.

371 et nihil - bellum: 'and you will learn that in my days nothing is safer than a war under my command'. A boastful paradox concludes Caesar's speech. *Meo...aevo* recalls *suae...Romae* (90), and implies that Caesar is the most important man of his time. The same paradox appears in a different context in 6,819-20 *toto nihil orbe videbis / tutius Emathia.*

372-398 Caesar makes preparations for the siege of Massilia.

(1) Summary:
After his speech Caesar heads for the city walls, but these are guarded by an armed force. On a hill outside the town he builds a camp, from which a rampart is constructed towards a hill in the town and to the sea. In between, the poet praises Massilia for having attained even the small success of having stopped Caesar for a while. In order to reinforce the rampart, many trees are felled.
(2) Structure:
This short and rather technical section on Caesar's strategic actions comes after the static exchange of speeches (298-372). It prepares the next statical scene on the felling of a sacred grove (399-455), and will itself be continued in the actual siege of

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1. This is already noted by some scholiasts: *gravi voce legendum est hoc* (aADRV); *[h]ironicos enim dictum est* (aADR); cf. also the Adn. a.l..

2. LUCKS's suggestion that he is the first to adopt this punctuation is misleading.

453-508. Its most striking feature is the praise of Massilia, which stands out amid the military details (see below).

(3) Historical material:

In this section the main action comes to the foreground again. However, Lucan has greatly simplified and compressed the historical events, as I noted on 298-455. The specific element of Caesar's double *agger* and the wood cut on its behalf is attested to by Caesar's own account in Caes. Civ.2,1.

But it would surely be wrong to suggest that Lucan is historically accurate here. Thus, (i) he selects just this main element, transposing others (*turres* and *vineae*; cf. Caes. Civ.1,36; 2,1) to a later stage (455-61) and adding an explicit mention of Caesar's camp, on which Caesar himself remains silent; (ii) he says nothing about forces, supplies and preparations of the infantery on the Massilian side, which are in turn dealt with at length by Caesar (Caes. Civ.1,34; 36; 2,1-2); (iii) he ascribes the actual preparations to Caesar personally (cf. D.C. 41,19,3), whereas his general Trebonius was probably in charge here (cf. Caes. Civ.2,1). It seems impossible to say who is right, but Lucan does not even mention Trebonius, or, for that part, any other general of the infantery on either side[1]. These adaptations, like all the others, serve Lucan's main purpose: a pathetic opposition of a 'brave Massilia' to an 'evil Caesar' fully responsible for the war.

Sections like this have not received much attention from modern scholars; it is used by JULLIAN 1899,311-7; JULLIAN 1900 and CLERC 1929,85-105, 157-229; but they cannot be fully relied upon, because they treat Lucan as a historical source (cf. OPELT 1957,436-7). For a brief military analysis of the siege of Massilia see MARSDEN 1969,112-3; for Roman siege techniques in general, see KROMAYER/VEITH 1928,442-9; RE VI,2236ff s.v. Festungskrieg.

(4) Literary material:

The laudatory lines on Massilia's achievement, taking up the praise of 300-3 and the image of 360-6, stand out clearly amid the military details. They constitute another effective addition on Lucan's part: by contrast they further emphasize the innocence and moral strength of the city's inhabitants, and the evil and brutality of Caesar.

Military realia, which seem to belong to prose works of historiography rather than epic, as well as traditional epic descriptions of place (see on 399-455) are combined to enhance the general effect: they serve Lucan's principal rhetorical and poetical aims rather than historical or topographical accuracy; cf. notes below, e.g. on 379 and 385.

For the military aspects, similar tactics of Caesar may be adduced. Lucan particularly likes the motif of 'surrounding with military means': e.g. 2,660-79 (an attempt to close the harbour of Brundisium with rocks and with a dam); 4,262-6 (the Pompeians are cut off from water by a steep trench); 6,29-63 (a huge wall around

1. For the absence of Domitius in Lucan's account, cf. on 298-455.

Dyrrachium[1]). Seen in this light, Caesar's fear of being surrounded himself (cf. on 369 *excludere*) becomes more dramatic. Still, some of Caesar's men are actually surrounded in 4,404-14, and Caesar himself (in Alexandria) in 10,439-85 and 534-46, the ultimate lines of BC we possess[2].

As an intermediate scene continuing the main line of events, the scene may be compared to scenes such as 46-70.

(5) Imitations:

The section has influenced later Roman epic poets; cf. Stat. Theb.7,441-51; Sil. 1,327-33.

372 **sic postquam fatus**: the same phrase as in 1,291. Ellipse of *est* is common in Roman poets; in general see Williams 1972 on Stat. Theb.10,3.

urbem haud trepidam: the motif of (lack of) fear returns once again. Even the idiom closely resembles 97-8: *sic fatur et urbem / attonitam terrore subit.*

373 **tunc**: the reading of the MSS, retained by BOURGERY and EHLERS. The objection that it is weak is no good reason to change the text. BENTLEY's conjecture *cum*, adopted by FRANCKEN, HOUSMAN, DUFF (still translating 'and then') LUCK and SHACKLETON BAILEY, is unnecessary. *Tunc* makes perfect sense: first Caesar turns towards the town, then he sees the guards on its walls. For a similar case see on 143. - Lines 373-4 are missing in the MS A (374 in B); cf. GOTOFF 1971,138; 158.

moenia clausa: an echo of 342 *claudere muros*; but now the Massilians themselves are the agents of the action. Cf. also 384; 446.

374 **densa - corona**: 'fenced with a crowded ring of warriors' (DUFF). *Iuvenes* is one of the words which may be used poetically for 'warriors'; cf. Catul. 64,4; Verg. A.2,355; 5,729; 8,179; Hor. S.2,3,196. For the line cf. Verg. A.9,551 *ut fera, quae densa venantum saepta corona...*; further for a *corona* around walls: Verg. A.10,122; 11,475.

375 **haud procul - explicat**: 'not far from the walls a hill of land rising high unfolds a small plain owing to its widened top'; a rather complex description. *Surgentis in altum telluris* is probably no more than explicative of *tumulus*[3]. For *explicare* used in this sense with a part of the earth as object, TLL V,1726,55ff gives no example before Lucan; cf. also 1,474; 4,19 (*campos*); Plin. Nat.5,118; Sil. 8,224.

The hill Lucan alludes to has been identified by French historians (e.g. JULLIAN 1899,312-3; CLERC 1929,209-10) as the 'butte des Carmes', an isolated hill at a distance of 100 to 200 meters from the heights of ancient Massilia, being flat at the

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1. On this section cf. SAYLOR 1978, who does not, however, connect the theme of walls with other forms of 'surrounding'.

2. For Lucan's fascination with the theme see further cases like 3,647-52; 4,746-7; 773-87, a.o.. Already the simple *claudere* occurs 43 times, in a variety of uses.

3. EHLERS' 'Unweit von der Stadt, wo das Gelände hoch emporsteigt, liegt ein Hügel', wrongly suggests that the whole area was hilly.

top, and having a plateau of some 1000 square meters[1]. It remains hazardous to make such assertions about an ancient poetical text, but at least we may say there is a possibility that Lucan's topography has a historical basis here. Cf. further below on 379.

377 patiens - cingi: 'to be capable of being surrounded by a long fortification'. A *munimen* is a defensive work, here probably a stockade to protect the camp. For the ending cf. Ov. Met.13,212; Rut.Nam. 2,39. Lines 377-8 are echoed in Stat. Theb.7,441; 446.

379 arcem: this *arx* has also been located by French historians (cf. above) on the hill of the 'Hôtel-Dieu', situated inside the ancient walls and facing the 'butte des Carmes'. Both of these are said to attain a height of some 38 meters; therefore, the phrase *par tumulo* might be historically accurate. This also applies to plains in between (*mediis... arva* 380).

But we need no such topographical investigations in order to understand the text. We can expect any epic citadel to be 'lofty', whatever its real height[2]. Furthermore, the similarity of the hill inside the town and the one outside seems mainly a symbol of Massilia's resistance to its aggressor. Finally, the main function of the plains in between is to emphasize the opposition of both parties in the conflict. The whole of Lucan's account has been adapted and compressed to that end; cf. on 372-98.

consurgit: BOURGERY defends the reading *conscendit* found in ZM, because apart from being *lectio difficilior*, it avoids a repetition of *surgentis* in 375. But this argument may be used against it as well: the poet explicitly compares the hills using similar terms (cf. *in altum* and *celsam*; *tumulus* and *par tumulo*). *Consurgentis* after *surgentis* may well be a conscious repetition, literally equating the second hill to the first.

380 mediis - convallibus: 'sink with intervening hollows' (HASKINS, comparing Stat. Theb.1,330; cf. also id.2,83). *Sedere* is used in a similar fashion to describe the sea in 5,643.

381 inmenso: as Caesar himself has lost all limits, so have his works, cf. 2,670-7; 6,29-47. See also below on *aggere*.

statura: with ablative of price, as in 2,16-7; 7,92-3. The first syllable is irregularly measured long here, as in 2,566. Although *placuit* suggests that Caesar is the focalizer, this prediction exclusively reflects the narrator's view. The phenomenon has already occurred several times with a future participle; cf. on 6 and 170.

382 aggere: 'a mound', 'an earthwork'; one of the principal works of a regular siege. It was made of earth, bushwork and rubble, reinforced with timber supports (for other

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[1]. Recently, RIVET 1988,221 has argued that the 'butte des Carmes' was inside the Greek fortifications and cannot have been the hill meant here. Instead he proposes the 'hill of St Charles' to the northeast of the city.

[2] Caesar says that the part of town with the citadel is *loci natura et valle altissima munita* (Civ 2,1,3). The reason for his statement is not merely topographical; underlining the enemy's strength often adds to the glory of having defeated them in the end. In addition, it may serve to divert attention from one's own weakness or failure.

use of wood cf. below on 396); cf. in general JUDSON 1888,90-6; WARRY 1980,166-7. Its dimensions could be quite considerable. This *agger* between Caesar's camp and the town itself finally attained a height of 80 feet (24 meters) according to Caes. Civ.2,1,4[1]. JUDSON,90 says it must have been 60 feet wide on the ground.

diversos vasto: the correct reading of MZG. A number of younger MSS (RC(?)QYUVPEWJ) read *diverso vastos*, which is less likely, though grammatically and metrically possible; Z^2AB have the corrupt *diversos vastos*; cf. GOTOFF 1971,117.

committere: 'to join up', as in e.g. Caes. Gall.7,22,4; Liv. 38,4,8; Curt. 4,2,16.

383 **sed prius...**: the second part of Caesar's constructions, starting from the other side of his camp high on the hill (*a summis castris*). It is a more defensive work, intended to disrupt the town's communications with its hinterland, and therefore it is built before the *agger* which connects Caesar's camp to the town itself. Both works make up a complete circumvallation of the town. FRANCKEN on 382ff paraphrases: 'a castris utroque usque ad mare aggeres, *bracchia*, duxit, includens praeter urbem pascua, quae intrinsecus fossa a moenibus separabat' cf. also CLERC 1929,102. The MS containing the Comm.Bern. provides a drawing in black ink and minium of Caesar's encirclement of Massilia.

Caesar (2,1,1) speaks of *duabus ex partibus aggerem*; Lucan calls this second part *opus* and *bracchia*. If his words are not chosen merely for the sake of variation, his text may point to the different functions of the two parts. It certainly gives more weight (though less words) to the element of the immense *agger* between Caesar's camp and the town, which is mentioned first. The function of Caesar's own words is simply to present a compact and favourable image of preparations for his attack.

384 **clauderet**: for the poet's fascination with the motif of 'surrounding', cf. above on 372-98 (*Links*). *Clauderet* recalls 342 and 373.

385 **fontes...campi**: these topographical elements have been located too on the west of the Carmes hill; cf. JULLIAN 1899,315; CLERC 1929,102. Again, the possibly wider significance has not been noted: the sources and pastures are included by Caesar within the mound but separated from the town by means of a trench (*amplexus fossa*). Therefore, they symbolize the thirst and hunger with which the Massilians will be confronted, just as they expected in 345-8.

386 **densas - terra**: 'built up his rampart, bearing frequent battlements, with turf and fresh soil'. The *pinnae* or 'battlements' are raised parts of the *agger* or similar structure; cf. Caes. Gall.7,72,4; Verg. A.7,159; Vitr. 10,15,1; Sen. Thy.570. The soil's freshness is a relevant detail here: it must be moist to suit the purpose[2]. *Bracchia* are lateral branches of walls, or branches between two fortified points; on the use here see above on 383.

388 **iam satis...**: the poet pauses in his account of military realia, to add some lines in praise of the city for its resistance. It is a great achievement, he says, to have

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1. The Comm.Bern. refer to Cornutus, who is said to have estimated the height at 60 feet.

2. HASKINS explains as *non cocta*, 'unbaked earth, not bricks'.

caused Fortuna and Caesar at least some delay (*mora* 392). The lines have been prepared by the foregoing image of Caesar as aggressor, and recall the praise already bestowed upon the city in 300-3; as well as the image provided in 360-6. As a matter of fact, Massilia's revolt caused considerable delay and damage to Caesar, who had counted on its immediate surrender and had had to summon additional troops from other regions. RAMBAUD 1976,857 estimates the delay at 50 days.

However, the poet is not concerned with historical accuracy here; the selection of just this element (rather than e.g. Caesar's strategical problems) seems prompted by other aims. Throughout BC we find the motif of *mora*, as a contrast to civil war as a whole, or to the energy and violence of Caesar (as here, 389-91). In either case, it forms the border between the static and the highly dynamic[1]. Cf. 1,99-106; 204; 281 (containing the famous *semper nocuit differre paratis*); 5,410; 733; 7,240; a.o. Incidentally, the word also occurs in Luc.Frg. 10 Buechner: *saepe mora melior*. For this passage 388-92 cf. also NOWAK 1955,19-21. By concentrating upon *mora*, the poet has reduced the conflict of Massilia and Caesar to an elementary struggle between principles.

Graiae: cf. on on 302.

memorandum: may be taken with *hoc* alone, as all modern translators do, but perhaps we may take it simply as an adjective next to *aeternum*: 'this quite memorable, eternal glory'.

389 **aeternum**: some of the important older MSS read *alternum* here (MZABRYW; cf. GOTOFF 1971,158), but this makes no sense.

non impulsa...metu: 'not compelled, or struck down by mere fear'. The Massilians' behaviour is different from that of all others, especially the people of Rome. *Ipso* does not imply that the Massilians actually felt some fear for Caesar, as HASKINS argues. Rather it says that acting on the basis of *metus* is even worse than giving in to a superior power (*impelli*); Rome's fear and submission is once again alluded to as the most vile attitude a city can possibly have.

390 **flagrantis**: here the old metaphor of something 'burning' through war (as in e.g. Cic. Att.7,17,4; Liv. 22,13,11) is shifted and applied to war itself, as in Liv. 31,11,10. Later examples seem to echo Lucan's phrase: Sil. 1,435; Tac. Hist.2,86; 4,12; Ann.2,59.

391 **praecipitem cursum**: at the beginning of the verse as in 2,706 and 7,496 (both ablative); with *cursu* also in 7,336. For *praeceps* cf. on 51.

raptis - mora: the thought of *tenuit - cursum* is repeated in different words to intensify the pathos. This second version adds the notion that Massilia will lose (*vincitur*), with the usual deliberate omission of suspense (cf. e.g. 170). For the use of *una* cf. on 113; for *mora*, the key word of the passage, see above on 388 and further on 52.

392 **quantum est...**: an exclamation, for which cf. on 73. Massilia is indirectly praised for having brought Caesar to a temporary standstill. Thus, the Massilians have actually achieved what the inhabitants of Corfinium already resolved upon in 2,487-90.

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[1]. For Lucan's awareness of borders between extremes, see on 60.

Tenentur echoes *tenuit* of 390, emphasizing the parallel of delaying Caesar and Fate. Occasionally in Vergil's *Aeneid* fate seems to be capable of being delayed, cf. Aen.7,313-6, 12,676. In BC this idea is developed on several occasions: cf. 2,581, 5,482, 5,732-3; 7,295, further 4,351 and 7,88. But the course of *Fatum* and *Fortuna* (on their relation see on 51) may also be accelerated: cf 5,41; 7,51-2; 252, 9,639[1]. Strictly speaking, this idea is decidedly non Stoic, but it is used by the poet for poetical rather than philosophical reasons; cf. SCHOTES 1969,132-7.

393 **quodque - dies**: Fate is pictured as an evil power favouring tyrants like Caesar (here denoted by *virum*) and even hastening its bad works This is a startling idea, the very opposite of the Stoic concept in question. However, the poet merely needs it as a basic pathetic theme for the entire work, and it should not be isolated from the work as a whole to form a statement on how the world is ruled For *imponere mundo* cf 10,377.

394 **hos** on the number of days cf. above on 388.

tunc omnia...: after the poet's exclamation, the section ends with another strategic detail· Caesar needs wood to fortify his *agger*, cf. Caes Civ 2,1,4 (with the general Trebonius in charge), for details cf. below on 396 Trees were felled in such great quantities (*omnia late*) that in a later stage no material was left near Massilia to build a new *agger*; Caes. Civ 2,15,1 The present lines both conclude the episode of preparations, and introduce the following *descriptio* on the sacred grove, 399-455. For once, the transition will be smooth and almost imperceptible

late: the only noteworthy adverb in BC 3, apart from the neutral *parter* (cf 297) and the epic *ocius* (cf. 150) While epic poets are already reluctant to use adverbs and prefer adjectives, Lucan has reduced even further the average number of adverbs by some 50 %, employing just 18 0 adverbs (comparatives and superlatives included) per 1,000 verses against Verg A 33 5, Ov Met 36 4, Stat 39 3, Sil 33.8[2]; cf. further HÅKANSON 1986, who also provides a list of Latin adverbs in poetry. *Late* belongs to the six most common ones, along with *bene*, *certe*, *longe*, *male*, and *parter*.

395 **nemora**: the main difference between *nemus* and *silva* is that the former has an esthetic or sometimes religious connotation, which the latter does not have. Lucan uses them 26 and 39 times respectively (Vergil 66 and 146) For *nemus* and *lucus* cf. on 86.

spoliantur the woods around Massilia are robbed by Caesar of their wood, just as the temple in Rome was robbed of its treasures (cf. 132 *spolium*, 167 *spoliantur*). By means of such subtle echoes, the poet again and again manages to link the episodes of Massilia and Rome

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[1] A related idea is that Fortune herself may either slow down the course of events (4,194 5), or increase its speed (7,504-5) In general we may also examine a scene like Erictho's necromancy in book 6, where fate seems to be reversed

[2] In more 'prosaic' genres, such as didactic poetry and satire, poets feel less restricted in their use of adverbs, cf Lucr 104 1, Hor S 88 7 Only Verg Ecl comes close to Lucan with 20 4

robore silvae: the ending is repeated in 7,807; Stat. Theb.5,514; 9,585; SCHUMANN 1983 s.v. fails to mention the present case.

396 **ut, cum terra - agger**: 'in order that while only light earth and brushwood support the centre of the mound, it (i.e. *robur*) may compress the soil bound in by the piled up framework of the sides, for fear lest the mound should give way beneath the towers' weight' (HASKINS). A highly technical sentence reflecting the complexity of its content in its form. An *agger* was made of relatively light materials (earth, bushwork, rubble). But if it was to enable towers to be moved towards the city wall, its respective parts had to be reinforced with wood to support their weight. Here timber is used for the construction of the outer ends to the left and to the right; cf. WARRY 1980,166-7. *Suspendere* is quoted in the OLD s.v. 5c 'to allow (soil, etc.) to lie lightly', along with Col. 11,3,34; it indicates the looseness and relative lightness of the middle part of the *agger*. The subject of *artet* is not fully clear: probably it is the *robur* of 395[1].

Whereas Caesar (2,2) puts much emphasis on the fierce opposition of the Massilians to the construction of the *agger*, Lucan shifts all attention to the abnormal dimensions of Caesar's siege apparatus.

398 **turribus**: in contrast to the massive *agger* which stands fixed, the towers may be moved towards the city wall, along the reinforced parts of the *agger* (cf. above). For towers on Caesar's works cf. 456; 2,505; 679; 6,39-40; 123, a.o..

399-455 A sacred grove near Massilia is cut down.

(1) Summary:

Close to the city there is a grove held sacred by the Gauls. Within it, various strange phenomena may be observed, inspiring terror and awe to the local people. Caesar dares to enter the grove and starts to fell an old oak, to set an example for his soldiers. All trees are cut down. The Massilians and the Gauls expect that the Gods will punish Caesar for this sacrilege, but their hopes are disappointed. The material is carried to the town. Caesar himself heads for Spain and leaves his generals in command of the siege.

(2) Structure:

In the preceding lines (394-8), it has already been pointed out that Caesar needs wood for his *agger* and fells a great number of trees in the region of Massilia. This scene presents concrete images illustrating these activities. The main line of events is not resumed until 453, where the actual siege commences.

The scene may be divided into several parts which gradually become shorter. It starts with a description of the ghostly wood and its impact on the local people (399-425). Caesar himself is the main actor in the next part (426-37). This is followed in turn by a short catalogue (437-45) leading up to a bitter complaint about Fortune's injustice (445-9). Three lines (450-2) portray the result in a pathetic

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1. FRASSINETTI 1991,89 thinks it is *agger*, and suggests to print a comma after *turribus*. However, this seems lees likely.

climax: even the transport of the timber is damaging to the people. The closing lines (453-5) resume the main line of events, indicating that Caesar himself departs from Massilia leaving his generals in charge. These lines introduce the following account of the siege of Massilia and hint at events in Spain which will be dealt with in book 4.

(3) Historical material:

The Caesarean party's need for timber is a historical fact, attested to by Caesar himself in Civ.2,1,4 (cf. above on 394)[1]. But we have no other evidence for what Lucan describes in the present passage. We do not know whether Caesar cut down a similar grove near Massilia. Many details of its description are evidently too fantastic to be true. Its very existence and location (see on 399) remain highly doubtful.

It is generally agreed upon that Lucan invented the grove episode, based on the historical fact that Caesar needed timber; cf. MENZ 1952,104-5; VON ALBRECHT in discussion following GRIMAL 1970,115-6; RUTZ 1970b,254; LINTOTT 1971,489n4; LUCK,517[2].

(4) Literary material:

The sacred grove is in the first place a literary grove. Lucan does not depart from epic tradition, as is sometimes implied (cf. e.g. CIZEK 1972,339-49), but firmly embeds his scenes within it, while searching for original variations of its conventions, often through contrast and opposition. The sacred grove scene is an illuminating example of Lucan's art.

Extensive *descriptiones* have belonged to the epic set of devices since Homer. They could have various types of objects, ranging from a shield (as in Il.18,478-612) to an island (as in Od.5,55-74); for descriptions of particular elements of the landscape, cf. REEKER 1971 with many examples from Vergil. Descriptions of groves were a stock feature in poetry; cf. Hor. Ars 16-8; Pers. 1,70; Juv. 1,7-8; brief examples may be found in e.g. Verg. A.1,165; 7,81-91; 8,342-58; 9,86-7; 381-3; Ov. Fast.3,295-9; Am.3,1,1-4; 3,13,7-10; cf. further prose texts such as Liv. 21,1,3 and Sen. Ep.41,3. In general on Lucan's *descriptiones* cf. ECKARDT 1936; BONNER 1966,278-84; RUTZ 1970b,254-5.

Furthermore, there is a link between the present scene and a specific type of landscape, the traditional *locus amoenus*, for which cf. SCHÖNBECK 1962; GATZ 1967. In fact, Lucan's grove forms an exact counterpart to the *locus amoenus* which may be called *locus horridus*; cf. HEYKE-FALLER 1970,133-8. There is nothing pleasant to the eye, the ear or any of the other senses; many of the usual elements (soft breezes; rivers, creeks and sources; animals; divine powers and other things associated with spring and gardens) are either explicitly said to be absent or changed into their opposites. Lucan's wood seems to be modelled after the example

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1. Again, Lucan makes Caesar himself responsible for the operation, whereas Caesar says Trebonius was in charge; cf. on 372-398.

2. According to OLIVER 1972,327 the poet transposed the incident from a later stage of the siege to an earlier stage in the narrative. However, this seems less plausible.

of the silent cave of Sleep in Ov. Met.11,592-615; and the sombre, dark groves in Sen. Thy.651-82; Oed.530-47; Her.O.1618-41. Some of the texts on groves are compared by COGNY/COGNY 1981 and OZANAM 1990.

Special influence of Ov. Met.8,738-884 also been detected, where Erysichthon fells trees in the sacred wood of Ceres to provoke the Goddess; cf. RUTZ 1950,173-7; PHILLIPS 1968[1], ROSNER-SIEGEL 1983,176n28. Indeed, Caesar and Erysichthon behave similarly, but Ovid's wood appears normal, and Lucan's definitely does not.

Several specific elements of the text may be related to literary motifs as well, such as various properties and miraculous features of the wood (399-425); the practice of human sacrifices (403-5) and the motif of felling trees (see on 440). Considering these literary backgrounds, it seems safe to state that Lucan's wood is a fine example of his poetical striving after *imitatio* and *aemulatio*. As a whole, the scene constitutes yet another illustration of Caesar's demonic and tyrannical character, cf. SYNDIKUS 1958,33; KOPP 1968,77-8[2].

Within the context of the general parallel between the Caesar blocks 68-168 (Rome) and 298-455 (Massilia) (see on e.g. 298-455; 395), the present scene is clearly related to lines 154-68. Both scenes describe how Caesar defies religion and tradition, without receiving due punishment from the Gods, contrary to expectation; cf. 125-7 and 445-8.

Lucan is fond of all sorts of extremes, including descriptions of *loci horridi*: cf. e.g. 4,455-61; 6,642-51 (the ghostly wood of Erictho), 9,303-18; 431-44. Static descriptions, enumerations, a predilection for magic and mystery are typical for BC as a whole.

The elements of the description may have a deeper significance, if we follow the general association of Caesar with daylight, fire and active, moving forces, and of Pompey with night, darkness and passive principles (cf. on 1-45 (4)). The darkness of the wood resists the light, but is violently disrupted by Caesar, who brings in daylight[3], cf. KÖNIG 1957,187-8; SCHONBERGER 1968,100.

***(5) Imitations*:**

Groves continued to be a motif in Roman epic after Lucan. Some texts show particular influence of Lucan's grove: cf. Stat. Theb.2,496-523; 4,419-42; Claud. 36,332-56. The scene has left its traces in later literature as well. An intriguing

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[1] In a reaction, DYSON 1970 has pointed to other possible instances which could have inspired Lucan a contemporary cutting of a grove on the island of Mona in 60 A.D., related by Tac. Ann. 14,30, and a sacrilege committed by Q. Servilius Caepio near Toulouse in 106 B.C., referred to by e.g. Cic. De Orat. 2,124.

[2] CROISILLE 1976,866-7 and 885-6 discusses the possible relation of Lucan's present passage with contemporary visual arts.

[3] Of course, Lucan has not created a closed, symbolical system. We may not simply equate the ghostly wood with Pompey. Here the poet's attention is focused rather on Caesar. But it is important to note that he works with roughly analogous sets of oppositions throughout BC on various levels.

example is a poem by C.F. Meyer, 'das Heiligtum', which is analysed and compared with Lucan's text by MOREL 1933; VON ALBRECHT 1965,135-8. Earlier echoes may be found in Chrétien de Troyes (12th cent.), *Erec et Enide* 5739ff, cf. CROSLAND 1930,50; Torquato Tasso (16th cent.), *Gerusalemme liberata* 13,9ff; cf. PARATORE 1971,7-10, and Daniel Triller (18th cent.), *der Sachsische Prinzenraub*; cf. FISCHLI 1944,83.

399 **lucus**: the first word of the scene sets the tone. It is a wood with a sacred aspect (cf. also on 86; 395 and 426), though with the connotation of threat and danger[1]. The word is etymologically related to *lux* and *lucere*, originally denoting an open place in the wood where the light can fall in. It seems as if Lucan plays with this etymology: in the entire section the darkness of the wood as opposed to the light outside is stressed, their combination in a 'dark *lucus*' might well appeal to the poet's taste of paradox and seems actually intended by the prominent position of *lucus* here and *obscurum* at the beginning of the next line.

The present *lucus* was not a religious site of civilized Massilia, but is portrayed as a cult place of local Gallic (Ligurian) tribes by which Massilia was surrounded (cf. Sil. 15,169-72). Various attempts have been made to locate the grove in the vicinity of modern Marseille Thus, on the basis of geographical, botanical and even folkloristical arguments, LAURENT 1921 has proposed the valley of the Aygalades; JULLIAN 1924 the valley and wood of Saint-Pons; and CLERC 1929,230-42 the wood of Sainte-Baume[2], sites at distances from 6 up to 21 kilometers from the city itself. Even if it proved possible to identify the wood on the basis of such scanty evidence after two thousands years (Lucan's indications are actually rather vague), it would not explain the essence of the text. Many elements of the *lucus* may be properly understood within the context of the epic tradition (cf. above on 399-455). The best we can say is that nature cults are known to have existed in many places in ancient Gaul; cf. THEVENOT 1968,200-21. This particular wood probably existed only in the poet's imagination He also referred to Gaulish *luci* in 1,453-4.

erat: the opening phrase *lucus erat* echoes Ov Fast.6,503, further Verg. A.1,441 and 9,86 (*lucus fuit*), Ov. Fast.2,436 (*lucus erat* at the end of the line); Fast.3,295, and even Liv. 1,21,3. The introduction of a subject with a form of *esse* is quite normal in a *descriptio*; cf. REEKER 1971,75-6, Austin on Verg. A 4,480ff, Van Dam on Stat. Silv.2,2,1-3. Within descriptions, present and past tenses of the verb are used alternately; cf. 1,609-38, 10,111-35; LUNDQVIST 1907,13. For the entire line cf. Ov. Met.3,28, Fast.2,435-6, 4,649-50.

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[1] In Vergil, *lucus* has an exclusively positive connotation, the notion of threat being associated with *silva* and sometimes *nemus*, cf REEKER 1971,66 7 For Lucan's models cf above, on 399-455

[2] CLERC even tries to give rational explanations for the strange phenomena in Lucan's grove, such as the shivering of trees without wind, and the phantastic animals All such elements, he argues, originated in popular legends

longo - aevo: similarly, the temple in Rome was *multis non tactus ab annis* (156). For the phrase cf. 9,519-20 *nullis violata per aevum / divitiis*; Ov. Met.3,28; Fast.2,435; 4,649; Am.3,1,1.

400 **obscurum**: ancient literary woods are invariably dark; cf. 6,644-5; further e.g. Verg. A.1,165; 9,87; 382-3; Ov. Fast.3,295; Met.11,594-6; Ep.12,67-8; Sil. 1,81-3; 6,146-7; Stat. Theb.4,419-21; the darkness is one of the most conspicuous features of the woods in Sen. Thy.650-70; Oed.530-47; Her.O.1630-1. Here it is caused by intertwining branches. This is perhaps reflected in the word order of the line, with its double hyperbaton. For the pun of a 'dark *lucus*' cf. above on 399; for its symbolical value cf. on 399-455 (4).

The wood is pictured in black (409; 411; 424), with patches of pallor (414) and, perhaps, red (405). Effectively, these are Lucan's three favourite colours, cf. PATERNI 1987. He compares similar non-Vergilian contrasts of blackness and paleness in e.g. 1,539-41; 618-20; 6,502; 517-20; 643-8; 9,767-72.

cingens - ramis: for *cingere* with the air as object, cf. Verg. A.5,13; for the ending cf. 1,139. The thought resembles Sen. Oed.542-4 and Thy.655-6.

401 **gelidas**: the shade is not pleasantly cool and refreshing, as in the *locus amoenus*, but simply cold. For *gelidas...umbras* cf. also 1,261.

alte - solibus: 'banished the sunlight far above' (DUFF); a poetical expression.

402 **non**: lines 402-4 constitute an example of a 'negation antithesis'[1], for which cf. on 49. For this text cf. NOWAK 1955,134. In the course of the present scene, the same device will be used again in 408-11; 415-7; 422-3.

ruricolae Panes: lines 402-5 present the grim picture of a wood deserted by the peaceful rural Gods and used only for cruel human sacrifices. The presence of Gods belongs to the *locus amoenus*; cf. e.g. in Hom. Il.20,8-9; Od. 205-11. For the rural Gods mentioned here see further Lucr. 4,580-9; Verg. G.2,493-4; Aen.8,314; Ov. Met.1,192-3; 6,392-5; Plin. Nat.12,3. The plural *Panes* evidently denotes a group of deities[2]; for this plural OLD s.v.1b quotes i.a. Prop. 3,17,34; Ov. Ep.4,171; Met.14,638; Sen. Phaed.784. The Comm.Bern. a.l. provide an elaborate explanation of the name 'Pan'; cf. BACHMANN 1974,89. *Ruricola* is equally used as as epithet of Gods in Ov. Met.6,392; Am.3,2,53.

nemorumque potentes: the phrase may have been modelled after Hor. Saec.1. *silvarumque potens*. *Potens* with a genitive is used normally with the name of a God; cf. Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. C.1,3,1; TLL X,2,285,32ff. Lucan's phrase is echoed by Stat. Theb.4,746; 6,636; 9,608; V.Fl. 3,48; Nemes. Ecl.2,56; Claud. 24,255.

403 **Silvani**: woodland Gods. As with *Panes*, the plural is rather unusual, though not exceptional. It also occurs in Ov. Met.1,193; OLD s.v. compares Plin. Nat.12,3 and CIL 3,4442.

barbara - deum: 'religious ceremonies of barbaric nature'. *Sacra* is probably deliberately vague. It may also point to a cult place or sacred objects. This very

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1. In a priamel, several elements precede the final contrasting element. Since this is not the case here, the broader term of negation antithesis seems better. For priamels see on 101.

2. Nevertheless, DUFF, EHLERS and LUCK render 'Pan'.

ambiguity enhances the general effect. The barbaric nature of local cults near Massilia is also mentioned by Sil. 15,169-70.

404 **diris**: the dark and gloomy *locus horridus* inspires awe, and hence also fear. Here we have the first of a long list of words of 'fear' in the sacred grove scene; 407 *metuunt*; 411 *horror* (though used literally), 415 *attonitos*; 416 *metuunt* and *terroribus*; 417 *timeant*; 424 *pavet*; 425 *timet*; 429 *tremuere* and *verenda*; 432 *torpore*; 438 *pavore*. Thus, the scene is not only dominated by 'darkness' (cf. on 399), but also by 'fear'.

Significantly, fear will be absent in the following battle scenes near Massilia, where soldiers do not hesitate to get killed just to prove their valour. For *dirus* cf. also on 9; for the epic vocabulary of fear MACKAY 1961[1].

altaribus arae: *altaria* can designate the upper part of an altar (*ara*) on which burnt offerings were made, or the burnt offerings themselves. The OLD s.v. includes the present text among the examples of the latter sense. But TLL I,1725,61ff suggests the first sense, which seems preferable. The poet has transposed the epithet *diris* from the implied offerings to that which contains them. Perhaps he is deliberately vague here again. The combination of *altaria* and *arae* also occurs in Lucr. 4,1237; Verg. Ecl.5,65-6; Plin. Pan.1,5, Tac. Ann.16,31.

405 **humanis...cruoribus**: Lucan alludes to the practice of human sacrifice, which in his days had become obsolete in Rome[2], but was still common with Gaulish tribes. Cicero considered it the most significant sign of their barbaric nature; cf Cic. Pro Font.31 *quis enim ignorat eos usque ad hanc diem retinere illam immanem ac barbaram consuetudinem hominum immolandorum? (...) qui deos immortalis arbitrentur hominum scelere et sanguine facillime posse placari?*; further e.g. Caes Gall.6,16; Justin. 26,2,2-6, Plin. Nat.30,13; Str. 4,4,5, Cf especially DE VRIES 1961,219-24[3]. Of other barbaric tribes: cf. e.g. Tac. Ann.1,61, 14,30; Ger.9, 39, 40.

Lines 404 and 405 seem to present two distinct forms of human sacrifice. The first implies burnt offerings, a well documented method of the Gauls; cf. Caes. Gall.6,16,4; D.S. 5,32,6; Str. 4,4,5. The second is less clear, but seems an allusion to hanging; cf. the Comm.Bern. on 1,445 *homo in arbore suspenditur usque donec per cruorem membra digesserit*. The concentration on 'blood' is typical for Lucan; cf. below on *lustrata* and on *cruoribus*. For various other atrocities connected with Gaulish ceremonies, including the use of victims' skulls as trophies or cups, cf. DE VRIES, who does not mention the present text. The two forms of human sacrifice

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[1] The present case is an apt illustration of MACKAY's statement (p 310) that Lucan is more inclined than Vergil to reinforce one word of 'fear' with another, or others, in close proximity

[2] In the early Republican period, three cases of human sacrifice performed by Romans are well attested to, the last of them in 113 B C Only as late as 97 B C. did the Senate formally ban this practice, cf BELLEN 1985,12-3, 20-1, 37, 39 But Suet Aug 15 still reports a rumour that Octavian sacrified 300 prisoners near the altar of Julius Caesar On human sacrifice in ancient Greece, cf HUGHES 1991.

[3] His book is entitled 'Keltische Religion' There is some confusion as to the use of names As D S 5,32,1 notes, the tribes in southern Gaul were also called 'Celts', and those in the north 'Gauls', but the Romans generally employed *Galli* for both

have already been referred to in the catalogue of Gaulish tribes fighting with Caesar, in 1,444-51: the cruel deity Teutates is said to be propitiated by means of blood, whereas *altaria* and *arae* are used in the cults of the cult of Esus and Taranis.

Apart from this anthropological reality, Lucan could also rely on epic tradition. In Homer's *Iliad*, part of Achilles' revenge of Patroclus consists of a sacrifice of no less than twelve Trojan youths, which is announced in Il.18,336-7, prepared in 21,27-32 and ruthlessly executed in 23,175-82. In the *Aeneid*, Aeneas commits a similar act of striking brutality, sacrifying four Italic youths at the funeral of Pallas, A.11,81-3, after having captured them for this reason, 10,517-20. However, both of these examples are set in a Greco-Roman war atmosphere, and motivated by the pathos of the situation. Both Achilles and Aeneas are overwhelmed by rage. Here, the motif has been transposed to a different setting and given a different motivation, but Lucan returns to the rather crude Homeric sort of detail which Vergil has carefully avoided[1]. Often, Lucan seems to be influenced by Homer directly, without Vergil as intermediary; cf. LAUSBERG 1985. Savage ceremonies also occur in the woods of Seneca's tragedies: cf. Thy.682-788; Oed.559-68.

lustrata: a word of ceremonial purification. Clearly, some sort of ritual with the blood of human victims is meant. It is not clear whether each tree has been the scene of such a ritual in the course of time (cf. EHLERS; LUCK), or all trees together are regularly 'purified' in this way (cf. CANALI). In either case, Lucan is probably speaking about a ceremony involving hanging (cf. above).

cruoribus arbor: later in BC, trees are once again covered with blood. After the battle of Pharsalus, birds pick the corpses lying on the battlefield, and come back stained with blood: *omne nemus misit volucres, omnisque cruenta / alite sanguineis stillavit roribus arbor* 7,836-7. Significantly, blood and gore also fall 'from the sky' upon the face of Caesar himself, when the tired birds drop their spoils (838-40). Claudian, in imitating the Lucanean passage, found a suitable variation: his Thessalian trees are adorned with limbs of the Giants; Claud. 36,337-52.

Typically, the poet focuses on blood again, although he might have given other details. For this interest in blood, and the use of *sanguis* and *cruor*, cf. on 124. The bloodthirstiness of Gaulish deities recalls Caesar's constant lust for blood, cf. e.g. 2,439-40; 7,566-7[2]; 728-9; 796. The poet may well have intended the parallel, though Caesar seems to oppose the religious rituals. It is true that he will abolish them by cutting the wood. However, he does not actually contest them, for he is not bringing culture and civilization, but merely pursues logistical aims.

406 **qua**: can only be short, and must therefore be connected with *vetustas*; cf. 10,323 *nostra vetustas*. With the Adn. HOUSMAN interprets *si qua* as *si*, comparing Verg. A.1,181 and 10,861. SHACKLETON BAILEY 1987,78 gives more weight to the

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1. Significantly, Vergil has reduced the number of victims, and softened the description. In 8,81-2 he does not exactly say that Aeneas kills them, but that he is going to do so (*vinxerat et post terga manus, quos mitteret umbris / inferias, caeso sparsurus sanguine flammas*).

2. On this intriguing passage cf. HÜBNER 1976b. His interpretation is dealt with below on 678.

words, taking them to mean *si ulla*. But neither of them mentions Verg. A.10,792 *si qua fidem tanto est operi latura vetustas* (quoted by HASKINS), which Lucan evidently had in mind here, or phrases like *si qua fides...*, as in Ov. Met.9,55; 371; 15,361; Fast.6,715.

superos mirata vetustas: 'antiquity marvelling at the Gods'. Considering the general lack of respect for the Gods by the poet, it seems impossible to interpret these words in any way other than a depreciating one. *Vetustas* is equally qualified in a negative way in 4,654-5 and 10,239. But on other occasions the poet aims at different pathetic effects, and calls it *veneranda*; cf. 9,987; 10,323; or *non vana*; cf. 4,590; further Sen. Epigr.21,7 *quas merito quondam est mirata vetustas*. For his general scepticism concerning myth and legends, cf. on 212 and 220 with note; further SCHÖNBERGER 1968,82-3

407 **volucres - ferae**: animals keep away from this wood. In a *locus amoenus* we would see small animals, such as sheep; different kinds of birds, such as the nightingale and the swallow; and bees and cicades (especially in bucolic landscapes); cf. SCHÖNBECK 1962,36-38. But here not only birds but even wild animals fear to come. On the absence of rural Gods, cf. on 402.

408 **lustris**: 'haunts'; etymologically, the word is not related to *lustrare* (cf. *lustrata* in 405), but to *lutum* 'mud'.

nec: cf. on *non* 402.

nec ventus - silvas: normally, we may expect some wind in a wood (cf. also on 410). By contrast, this sacred grove is not only dark and cold, but also completely silent. For the significance of wind here, see below on 409.

409 **incubuit**: seems a gnomic perfect, for which cf. 67.

excussaque - fulgura: cf. 1,151 *expressum ventis per nubila fulmen*[1]. In the ancients' view, lightning was caused by winds entering clouds, gathering heat while moving, and finally forcing their way out; cf. Lucr. 6,173-213; Ov. Met.1,56; 11,433-6; Sen. Nat.2,22; Wuilleumier on 1,151 also compares Ar. Nu.404-7. BOURGERY writes *excusaque* (from *excudo*) with Z, but this is not necessary. Lucr. 6,161 uses *excussa* in a similar context.

As noted before, Lucan compares his Caesar with forces of nature, such as wind and lightning; cf. on 319 and especially 362. That association is relevant here too. The wood which has not yet been struck by violent forces becomes an 'obstacle' for Caesar, who is only too happy to overcome it by force; cf. also ROWLAND 1969,206-7.

nubibus atris: for the ending of the line cf. Cic. Arat.192; Germ. Arat.4,155; Ov. Met.2,790; Fast.1,315; Verg. A.4,248; 10,264; Stat. Theb.1,646.

410 **non ulli - inest**: 'although the trees do not spread their leaves to any wind, they have a rustling of their own'. The lack of winds is mentioned again, but the poet does not merely say the same thing twice. The word *aura*, a light breeze, recalls the

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1. Normally, a distinction is made between *fulmen* 'thunderbolt' and *fulgur* 'flash of lightning'; cf. 4,77-8; Bailey on Lucr. 6,219-422; Ov. Met.1,56; Sen. Nat.2,57,3 *fulgur quod tantum splendet (...) fulmen quod mittitur*. But here, the distinction is not important.

locus amoenus, in which it is a standard element (cf. SCHÖNBECK 1962,18). In addition, the perspective changes: in 408-9 it seemed as if we looked down from the sky upon the wood, which was not struck by the *ventus*; now we are looking up to heaven, where the leaves of the trees are not touched by any *aura*.

ulli: Lucan's somewhat complex construction has led to errors in several MSS. Most of them read *ullis* or *nullis*, and accordingly, *auris*, probably interpreting the phrase as an ablative absolute. The datives singular *ulli*, found only in M (Z reading *nuli*), and *aurae*, found in ZM (though corrected to *aures*) are generally adopted by modern editors as the correct readings here.

411 **arboribus - inest**: to the absence of wind is added the first of several mysterious unnatural phenomena. Branches of trees moving without wind also occur in Ov. Met.7,629-30. After Lucan, cf. V.Fl. 3,402-3; Claud. 33,204-5. For a similar phenomenon cf. BC 6,469-71, where due to Thessalian witchcraft the sea is agitated without wind, or conversely, quiet during a storm.

horror: Serv. on Verg. A.1,165 quotes Lucan's phrase, but gives a wrong explanation of *horror*, which is used in a literal sense here, not as a word expressing religious fear.

plurima: with a singular noun, as *multus* in 622; 627 and 707; other examples in OBERMEIER 1886,6.

nigris fontibus: springs are traditional in the *locus amoenus*, in which they bring colour, freshness and movement, as they are pure and sacred; cf. SCHÖNBECK 1962,19-33; further Bömer on Ov. Fast.2,315. It comes as no surprise that their positive qualities are reversed by Lucan, as they were by Seneca in Thy.665-7 *fons stat sub umbra tristis et nigra piger / haeret palude: talis est dirae Stygis / deformis unda...*; Oed.545-7. The underlying model is Homer's *krènè melanudros* (Il.9,14; 16,3; 21,257; Od.20,158) and *melan hudoor* (Od.4,359; 13,409)[1], in which the blackness has a different function, as HASKINS justly remarks. For Lucan's use of black cf. on 400 *obscurum*.

412 **cadit**: the movement of water is usually expressed with the smooth *labi* or dynamic verbs such as *prorumpere* (e.g. Verg. A.7,32), *prosilire* (Catul. 68,58) and the like. *Cadere* suggests sluggishness and passivity. It is also used of water coming from a spring in 1,213.

simulacraque - deorum: the poet refers to primitive, wooden sculptures of Gaulish gods. Archeological discoveries in France have shed more light on the text. In 1963 some 200 wooden heads, statues and other sculptures were found near the springs of the Seine (near Dijon). These are often no more than small logs only partially modelled in a very rough manner. Considering their crude appearance, the qualifications *maesta* and *informia* seem justified. These finds are related to Lucan's text by SAINT-DENIS 1967; for some impressive illustrations see also THEVENOT 1968,200-21. DE VRIES 1961,201n16 compares Gildas, De exc. 4,2.

Several scholars have interpreted these lines as yet another instance of condemnation of Roman luxury and praise of simplicity; cf. VIANSINO 1974,29; BASTET

1. I have found no clear example in Vergil, but cf. e.g. Aen.6,132.

1970,126;157; Schmidt on 10,111-26 (p.196). On other occasions Lucan indeed praises simplicity of non-Roman cults[1]: see 5,102-14 and 9,517-21. But here he does not have a high opinion of the wood merely because Caesar is going to cut it down. The sort of 'mystery' it embodies was generally considered the basis of superstition rather than piety; cf. OZANAM 1990,282-4. Brutality, primitivism and barbarism are typical of the grove, and these qualities are not so much opposed by Caesar as surpassed.

maesta: 'gloomy', 'sad to see', as in 6,625; cf. also on 10.

413 **arte carent**: a negative element, *ars* being seen as part of civilisation. In 512-3 the absence of ornaments and other forms of modelling is equally viewed in a negative way; see on 510 and 512.

extant: the meaning of the word is not quite clear. OLD s.v. *ex(s)to* 4 quotes it among the examples of 'to exist (in a given manner)', and TLL V,1930,83ff as the only instance of the sense 'erectum stare'. But SAINT-DENIS 1967,439-40 explains more technically as 'stand out' of an object from the matter of which it is made, comparing its counterpart *excido* in Verg. A.1,428 *immanisque columnas / rupibus excidunt*. This interpretation of *extare* may have a parallel in Augustin. Civ.Dei 22,19[2]; it is certainly much stronger and accounts better for the ablative *caesis... truncis*. BOURGERY renders it as if the statues stand upon logs, but this is certainly wrong.

414 **ipse**: leads up to a significant detail in a *descriptio*, as in e.g. 1,618; 10,111 (with Schmidt's note).

ipse - attonitos: 'their state of decay and paleness due to the rotten wood struck people with terror'. *Pallor* is one of the rare colours apart from black which occur regularly in BC (cf. on 400 *obscurum*). It is the colour of sombre, ugly things, such as the underworld (6,714; 737; 800) bad omens (e.g. 1,539; 618; 5,549-50; 6,502; 7,178; or Erictho's wood (6,643-4; 646); cf. PATERNI 1987,110. For words of fear cf. on 404.

415 **attonitos**: the question arises who are these *attonitos*. The terrifying effect of the grove upon Caesar's soldiers (Caesar himself defies any God) is not dealt with until 429 and it is not likely to be mentioned twice. The poet seems to think of the Gaulish *populi* mentioned in 422 or at least of people inhabiting the region (LUCK renders 'die Menschen'; cf. also WIDDOWS). It is their particular fear of these deities in the grove which is emphasized. Most translators remain too vague. The problem returns with *metuunt* and *timeant*; see on 416-7. For *attonitus* cf. on 98.

vulgatis - figuris: 'under common forms', i.e. with clearly distinct features and attributes. From a Roman point of view, the statues of the Gauls are 'uncommon'.

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1. In Rome too, primitive, wooden statues could be regarded as examples of noble simplicity, cf. Verg. A.7,177-82; Tib. 1,10,19-20; Prop. 4,2,59-60; cf. further texts on Priapus such as Hor. S.1,8,1-3; Priap. 10,2-5. Especially Christians opposed such cult objects; editors compare Tertull. Ad Nat.1,12; cf. also e.g. Min.Fel. 24,5-8.

2. TLL V,1930,45ff also refers to Vitr. 3,5,1, but there it is an emendation not adopted in modern editions.

Thus, in *vulgatis* we see focalization by the narrator only and not by the subject of *metuunt*.

416 **metuunt**: several translators take lines 415-7 as a general statement with an indefinite subject 'men'; cf. DUFF; EHLERS; BOURGERY. Such use of the third person plural is common with *dicunt* and a few other forms, but uncommon with this verb, though not impossible; cf. LHS II,418-9. However, it seems more likely that the subject must be extracted from *attonitos*. It is concrete, 'the people in the region', not abstract.

SHACKLETON BAILEY 1987,78 argues that *metuunt* and *timeant* have changed places in the MSS, and accordingly changes this in his text edition, which is accepted by BADALI 1988,152. But *timeant* makes good sense in its original place and would be strange here. Therefore, I retain the MSS' text.

417 **quos timeant - deos**: either containing a relative clause, 'not to know the Gods whom they have to dread' (cf DUFF, BOURGERY; EHLERS; LUCK), or an indirect question, 'not to know what Gods they have to dread' (cf. HASKINS; WIDDOWS). Both make good sense, considering the formless statues of which Lucan speaks. But the first produces a better point, and seems preferable.

timeant: the conjunctive of *timeant* has a consecutive value. There is no reason to doubt the traditional text (cf. on 416). But the subject of the verb seems unclear once again. The thought that unknown Gods inspire more faith or fear is common; cf. especially 10,295-8 (on the Nile) and Verg. A.8,349-52; further Tac. Ger.34,3[1]. This might justify us taking the second part of 415-7 (*tantum - deos*) as a general sententia, contrary to the first part (*non vulgatis - metuunt*). LUCK seems to adopt this view. The subject of *timeant* then would be 'men' or 'mankind'. But it is equally possible to see the clause as a continuation of the concrete statement on people inhabiting the region.

fama ferebat: for the ending cf. Ov. Met.12,197; Sil. 13,701.

418 **cavas - cavernas**: the emphasis on sounds is reinforced by the alliteration and other sound effects in the line itself, which is clearly modelled upon a line of Vergil on the Trojan horse: *insonuere cavae gemitumque dedere cavernae* Verg. A.2,53. For strange sounds in real caverns cf also Verg. A.3,674 and 8,420; Sen. Thy.579; Aetna 31. Sounds could easily inspire superstition, as Lucr. 4,580-92 already illustrated. Cf. also the various sounds in Sen. Thy.668-82.

caverna: a common word in a context of earthquakes and other terrestrial phenomena; cf. Lucr. 6,683; Verg. A.3,674, Ov. Met.15,299; 345; Aetna 282; 308; 605; Sen. Nat 6,22,1; 6,24,3.

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[1] Among barbaric tribes, this could lead to a ban on images of Gods altogether, e g Tac. Ger 9; Hist 2,78, Sil 3,30-1 Earlier in BC Lucan has said that among the Gauls only Druids have knowledge of the Gods 1,452-3 (with a pun on this 'knowledge') On mysteries of nature in BC on which silence must be kept, cf OZANAM 1990,278

419 **procumbentis - consurgere**: a second miraculous element, equally related to trees as in 410-1. It is twofold, as the Adn. and Comm.Bern. rightly note: the cause of the yews' falling is no less mysterious than that of their resurgence[1].

Yews were associated with poison, death and underworld (cf. e.g. 6,645; Verg. G.2,257; Ov. Met.4,432; Plin. Nat.16,50). This makes the effect of the resurgence all the more terrifying. A similar story is told about a cypress, another funeral tree (cf. 442), in the days of Vespasian; cf. Tac. Hist.2,78; Suet. Ves.5. Other examples are listed by Plin. Nat.16,132-3.

420 **fulgere incendia**: spontaneous outbreak of fire without an apparant cause is a literary rather than a natural phenomenon: cf. Verg. Ecl.8,104-5; A.2,681-4 (with Austin's note on 683); 5,525-8. A striking parallel is Sen. Thy.674-5 *excelsae trabes / ardent sine igne*. After Lucan, we find the motif several times in Silius, e.g. Sil. 1,96; cf. further Plin. Nat. 2,240-1.

421 **amplexos - fluxisse**: the accumulation of -s- sounds may bring out the snakes' sounds, like the rhythm of the whole line suggests their slow squirming around the trees. The snakes recall the episode of Laocoon and the snakes in Verg. A.2 (*dracones* being used in Aen.2,225). For *roboraque amplexos* said of a snake cf. BC 9,364 *robora conplexus*. The variant readings *amplexus* and *draconis*, though found in important MSS (ZMB and ZMAB respectively; cf. GOTOFF 1971,181 and 197) are generally rejected.

422 **non illum - frequentant**: 'people did not resort to this (grove) and worship from close by'. Not only rural Gods and animals keep away from the wood (402-3; 406-8), but even human beings are no longer present. It proves to be a *locus horridus* in all respects. *Illum* refers to *lucus* in 399, as *hunc* did in 402. The TLL IV,1325,49ff following the Comm.Bern. suggests that *cultus* may signify 'habitatio' here, comparing Stat. Silv.2,2,109. But considering the religious context 'worship' seems preferable.

populi: the Gaulish tribes living in the vicinity of Massilia. They have not been mentioned explicitly up to now, but in 415-7 their fear of the sacred images was described. For *cultu populi* some MSS (PUV) write *populi cultu*, which is metrically possible, but seems to be a correction of Lucan's more complex word order.

423 **medio - est**: 'when Phoebus is in mid-heaven'. 423-4 *medio... tenet* might seem merely a periphrasis of 'whether by day or by night', but from the main clause 424-5 it becomes clear that two specific points of time are meant, at which the sacred atmosphere is more intense and threatening. HASKINS quotes Theoc. 1,15-8 on the anger of Gods being disturbed during mid-day repose; further parallels are provided by Gow on Theoc. l.c.; and cf. Sen. Thy.677-9. The night is of course normally associated with divine powers. For Phoebus see on 231; for similar combinations of *medius* and *axis* cf. on 69. Lines 423-5 are quoted by Serv. on Verg. G.4,400.

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[1]. As such, the falling might be caused by the earthquakes alluded to in the previous line. But 418-21 clearly sum up four strange phenomena not related to each other.

424 **atra**: as I have mentioned (see on 400) black is one of Lucan's favourite colors. But as such *atra* is no surprising qualification of *nox*, cf. 1,579; 9,839 (cf. also *obscura* in 1,187; 526).

ipse sacerdos: though Lucan is vague here, one of the Druids must be meant, who are known to have presided over religious ceremonies; cf. especially 1,450-4 and Caes. Gall.6,13. The ending *ipse sacerdos* is taken from Man. 5,343 and will become popular with Christian poets; cf. SCHUMANN 1983, s.v. (not mentioning Lucan).

425 **accessus**: cf. Stat. Theb.1,94 *occursus dominae pavet*, quoted by OUDENDORP.

dominum - luci: the dread of the priest himself may have been invented or exaggerated by the poet for pathos' sake[1]. *Dominus* is remarkable: apparently there are not merely unknown deities wielding power in the grove (417; 423), but one of them is the master of it.

deprendere: 'to meet unexpectedly', for which OLD s.v.2 compares e.g. Stat. Silv.1,5,56 (of the goddess Hecate).

426 **hanc...**: the description of the wood (399-425) appears to introduce yet another sacrilege by Caesar, the subject of *iubet*. In the related section 154-68 a similar description came only after Caesar's evil intentions had been made evident (153). Here the brutal *inmisso...ferro* abruptly breaks the atmosphere of vague threats and religious taboos carefully built up in the preceding lines. In his defiance of the Gods[2] Caesar particularly resembles Ovid's Erysichthon (cf. above on 399-455 (4)). But whereas the latter is punished, Caesar will remain unharmed through Fortuna's aid.

silvam: contrary to *lucus* and *nemus*, there are no religious connotations to *silva*; cf. also on 399. The word may reflect Caesar's view: to him the wood is a *silva* and nothing more.

427 **vicina operi**: for attempts to identify the wood, see on 399.

belloque: a second elision after *vicina*. Lucan does not often have more than one elision in a line; SHACKLETON BAILEY's metrical index (p.292) lists only four more cases in book 3: 467; 591; 640; 735.

bello - priore: according to JULLIAN 1924,116-7 this refers to a specific war of Rome against the Salluvii. However, one need not assume such historical accuracy here[3]. The wood has already been described by the poet as dark (400-1) and unviolated (*longo - aevo* 399). Here these elements reappear introduced by *nam* and function as motifs for Caesar's decision: the wood is situated close by, and is likely

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1. Serv. on Verg. G.4,400 in his quotation of the lines reads *tunc* instead of *pavet*. This much weaker reading is not found in MSS of Lucan.

2. Cf. Suet. Jul.59 *ne religione quidem ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus umquam vel retardatus est.*

3. CLERC 1929,231n1 argues that the first stages of the conflict between Caesar and Massilia are meant here, but this seems even less likely. Up to now, Lucan has reported only preparations for battle, no actual fights.

to provide large quantities of wood (cf. also *densissima* in the next line). For *belloque intacta* cf. Sall. Hist.4,69,15; Tac. Hist.3,34.

priore: some MSS (ZABRQ; cf. GOTOFF 1971,50) have a variant reading *priori* which is adopted by BOURGERY. But a majority of MSS has the regular ablative form.

428 **nudatos**: it is suggested that the surrounding mountains had already been deprived of their woods. Caesar himself may be responsible for this; cf. the felling of trees in 394-5.

429 **fortes - manus**: the motif of fear is recurrent in BC; cf. on 97-112. Now fear strikes even Caesar's own soldiers who normally do not shrink back from criminal or sacrilegeous acts. However, on a few occasions they show such normal reactions as fear or revolt against their general; cf. 1,352-6; 5,240-99. For his reactions see on 433 and 436.

verenda maiestate loci: cf. 7,680-1; Ov. Met.4,540 *maiestatemque verendam*; Liv. 1,53 *loci maiestate*; Sil. 3,31.

431 **in sua - securis**: 'their axes, so they believed, would rebound against their own limbs'. Considering the things said to take place in the wood this superstitious fear may not seem unfounded. A number of modern parallels for it are given by CLERC 1929,233-4.

432 **implicitas**: for *implicare* used with a verb of fear, cf. Cic. Tusc.5,3; Culex 200; Tac. Hist.3,77.

torpore: the reading of most MSS, as well as Prisc. GLK 2,473,5 who quotes from Lucan's line. Z^2ABRG read *terrore* (cf. GOTOFF 1971,117), which is metrically sound, but looks like an explanation of *torpore* incorporated into the text.

433 **primus**: the leader himself sets the example, as Erysichthon in Ov. Met.8,752-4. However, the example itself is bad. In this respect both passages seem a contrast to Verg. A.6,183 *nec non Aeneas opera inter talia primus / hortatur socios paribusque accingitur armis.*

librare: another uncertainty in the MSS. ZMQWAv read *vibrare* (cf. GOTOFF 1971,117)[1]. Most modern editors except BOURGERY and CANALI adopt the 'lectio difficilior' *librare* here, for which cf. Verg. A.9,417; Ov. Met.8,757 (both with *telum*). Lucan's phrase is echoed in Stat. Theb.8,488-9; further Sil. 2,622.

bipennem: an axe is traditionally mentioned in scenes of felling trees, for which see on 440. Cf. Hom. Il.23,114; in Latin epics it may be either a *securis* (Enn. Ann.175 Sk.; Verg. A.6,180) or a *bipennis* (Verg. A.11,135; Sil. 10,529; V.Fl. 3,163).

434 **aeriam**: 'lofty', as in 1,689. It is used to describe an oak in Verg. A.3,680; of other trees in e.g. Catul. 64,291; Verg. Ecl.1,58.

proscindere: equally less common in relation to trees, its normal object being the soil as in 192. Cf. Stat. Theb.9,595.

quercum: in epic, oaks are generally regarded in a positive way as venerable because of age and height, quite unlike the *taxi* mentioned in 419. Like other trees they often figure in comparisons; cf. AYMARD 1951,77-9. In particular, Caesar's

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[1]. The same MSS' uncertainty occurs in Ov. Fast.3,585 and Claud. 36,358.

present act is doubtlessly intended by the poet as an allusion to the initial comparisons of Pompey to an old oak in 1,136-43, and of Caesar to lightning in 1,151-7 (cf. also on 409). The high oak (*aeriam* 434; *sublimis* 1,136) is no longer spared, but struck by force. The symbolism is unmistakable: like the oak, Pompey and his cause will be cut down and defeated; cf. ROWLAND 1969,206-7; ROSNER-SIEGEL 1983,176. For Pompey as a passive, inert, stationary element cf. on 1-9 and texts analysed by ROSNER-SIEGEL 1983.

435 **effatur**: a full and neutral form of introduction to a speech by means of a Vergilian word. This sort of introduction of speeches is rare in BC; cf. SANGMEISTER 1978,64wn183. For Lucan's various forms see e.g. on 13 and 303. Many MSS read *et fatur* (Z^2ABRQYG, cf. GOTOFF 1971,117), but the traditional reading has better MS authority. BENTLEY's conjecture *haec fatur* is still recorded by HOUSMAN and SHACKLETON BAILEY but seems unnecessary.

merso - ferro. the words might seem a mere repetition of *ferro - quercum*. But that phrase depended on *ausus* and so denoted Caesar's impious plan to fell the tree, *proscindere* indicating the start of the cutting at the surface. In the present phrase the plan is executed: Caesar drives his weapon right through the wood. The two phrases represent two distinct moments of the sacrilege, cf. further below on *violata*.

Ferro evidently forms a repetition of *ferro* in the previous line. In his apparatus HOUSMAN suggested (referring to 6,219 and Ov. Met 8,757) that the one or the other might be replaced by *telo* Where HOUSMAN remained hesitant, SHACKLETON BAILEY is confident. his text reads *telo* in 435 But though a repetition of *ferro* sounds harsh, it may well be deliberate. There is no sufficient reason to doubt the MSS here. With all modern editors except SHACKLETON BAILEY I retain the traditional text.

violata: to be taken proleptically, 'which was thus profanated'. The word concludes the poet's minute analysis of Caesar's sacrilegeous act in four successive moments: he grabs an axe, hits the tree and cuts right through it; as a result it is desacrated. This splitting up into four distinct moments has a retardative effect emphasizing the significance of the fact.

436 **iam ne quis...**· Caesar's speech is both shorter and more impious than Erysichthon's in Ov. Met.8,755-6. Caesar is not merely evil himself, but tries to seduce his soldiers into the same immoral practices, as he does on several occasions, cf. 1,296-351; 5,319-64; 7,248-329, cf. also the speeches of Laelius 1,359-86 and Petreius in 4,212-35. He distorts his soldiers' natural disposition towards family, state and Gods. In this respect he may be considered the exact opposite of a Stoic wise, a 'Stoic fool'; cf. GEORGE 1988,esp.337. The moral scruples of Caesar's soldiers (cf. on 429) may also be seen as a special form of resistance which he is eager to overcome. For short speeches in BC see on 38.

437 **nefas**. like *scelus* (cf. 129), *nefas* is a typical word used to denote the acts committed during civil war. Caesar is immoral to such an extent that he can use the word without any form of excuse or reserve. On the contrary, he takes full responsibility

for it. The phrase resembles 7,123 *omne nefas victoris erit*; but the context is different.

paruit: due to the terror Caesar inspires, the soldiers obey his commands; cf. 1,355-6; 4,235-50; 5,364-7 (with a bitter comment on Caesar's 'fear' following in 5,368-70).

omnis: to be connected with *turba* 439. The hyperbaton may express the men's continuing tension and fear, explicit in *non - pavore*.

438 **non - pavore**: strictly speaking, *non* must be connected only with *secura*: 'not feeling safe with their fear removed'. But a free translation seems necessary here, such as WIDDOWS' 'not feeling happy about it, not relieved of their fear'.

Pavore is the last word of fear for a long time to come, the next one not appearing before 689 (or 652 *diri*). Lucan has consciously omitted all references to the notion of fear during the battle scenes near Massilia. This once more emphasizes the heroic nature of the Massilians' resistance, as MACKAY 1961,310 notes.

439 **expensa - ira**: the elementary opposition of the sententia recalls lines like 1,128 (quoted on 164 and 303). *Expendere* 'to weigh in the mind' occurs only here in BC; cf. OLD s.v. 5. In Vergil it usually means 'to pay (the penalty of) a crime'; cf. Verg. A.2,229; 6,740; 10,669; 11,258. For Caesar's *ira* cf. on 133; for the ending *Caesaris ira* cf. on 136; the Gods are said to have *ira* in e.g. 1,617; 2,1; 86; cf. also on 449. The line illustrates how Lucan can outdo predecessors like Homer and Vergil because of the historic nature of his theme: Caesar's concrete anger is more important than mythical wrath of the Gods; cf. VON ALBRECHT 1970,274.

440 **procumbunt orni...**: in lines 440-5 Lucan mentions several trees. But there is no need to inquire whether these species occur or may have occurred near Massilia, as JULLIAN 1924,121 does, or to call upon our scarce knowledge of trees which were present in Gaulish groves, as in GRAVES 1956,79n1. The trees are firmly rooted in epic tradition; cf. also below on *orni...ilex*.

The motif of felling trees goes back as far as Hom. Il.23,114-22 and returns in Enn. Ann.175-9 Sk.; Verg. A.6,179-82 and 11,135-8. In his version Lucan has amplified the motif, and also changed its application: here the wood is no longer used to raise pyres, as in the earlier epics, but for strategic aims[1]. After Lucan cf. Sil. 10,527-34; Stat. Theb.6,90-106. The motif is brilliantly analysed by LEEMAN 1985[2]; cf. also Norden on Verg. A.6,179; Skutsch on Enn. Ann.175 Sk.; HÄUSSLER 1978,149-52. Enumerations of trees are common even in other contexts; cf. Culex 135-44; Ov. Met.10,90-105; Sil. 4,682-4; further Sen. Oed.532-44; Her.O.1618-41.

procumbunt: takes up 395 *procumbunt nemora...*; 419 and 426, as well as Verg. A.6,180 (in a similar context cf. Stat. Theb.6,100). *Procumbere* occurs 7 times in BC 3; cf. further in 512; 616 and 725. The total number of cases in all other books of BC amounts to just 5.

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1. For cutting trees in BC cf. also 1,306; 4,137-40; 9,429.

2. However, LEEMAN passes over some minor cases as V.Fl. 3,163-5.

orni...ilex: both are traditional trees in this context; for the first cf. Verg. A.6,182; 11,138; Sil. 10,530; Stat. Theb.6,101; for the latter cf. Enn. Ann.176 Sk.; Verg. A.6,180; Sil. 10,532; Stat. Theb.6,101.

441 **silvaque Dodones**: a reference to the oaks of the Zeus oracle at Dodona, as in 179-80. The genitive ending in long measured *-es* is Greek; cf. in general LHS II,760.

fluctibus aptior alnus: sc. than for warfare. Wood of the alder seems to be fit for ships; cf. Verg. G.1,136; 2,451; Stat. Theb.6,106 *alnus amica fretis*. Line 441 has been entirely omitted in BOURGERY's translation.

442 **non plebeios**: the cypress is closely associated with death and funerals; cf. Verg. A.6,216 *feralis...cupressos*; Hor. Epod.5,18; Carm.2,14,23 with Nisbet and Hubbard a.l.; Petr. 120,75. The words are explained by the scholia, e.g. *neque enim haec curantur in funere egentium vel ignobilium* (Adn.). Lucan may also allude to the story of Cyparissus changed into a cypress, as told by Ov. Met.10,106-42. The whole line is quoted by Lactant. on Stat. Theb.4,460. For the use of the negation cf. 4,663 *non fausta*; 10,60 *non casta*.

443 **tum primum**: also used in line 168 which closed the related section on the treasures of Rome.

posuere comas: SHACKLETON BAILEY 1987,78 has noticed something strange here. For *ilex* and *cypressus*, belonging to the non-deciduous trees (cf. Plin. Nat.16,79-80) it may be said to be 'the first time' they loose their foliage. But *ornus*, *quercus* and *alnus* do so every autumn. So, in SHACKLETON BAILEY's words, 'the trees in this numinous grove must have been exempt from the usual processes of nature', as in Plin. Nat.16,81. However, such a reference to the wood's unnatural features would be slightly out of place, their description having been concluded in 425. Moreover, Lucan usually does not show much interest in biology. The main idea he wants to convey here is that light enters the gloomy wood for the first time (cf. below). The general image of 'trees loosing their leaves' is used to visualize this idea.

comas: 'foliage' of trees, as in e.g 4,128; 6,644; 9,428. The metaphor has been common since Hom. Od.23,195; cf. e.g. Catul. 4,12; Verg. A.2,629; 7,60; further TLL III,1752,75ff. For the phrase cf. Claud. 36,380.

444 **admisere diem**: cf. Sen. Her.O.1630-1 *protinus radios locus / admisit omnis* (cf. also 1619)[1]; Stat. Silv.2,7,14 *diem recepit*. Caesar disrupts the grove's sacred darkness and lets in daylight. The poet might well have evaluated Caesar's act in a positive way, but he carefully avoids this; see below on 438; further on 399-455 (4).

445 **sustinuit - cadens**: due to the dense wood (400; 428; 444) the trees do not collapse in a normal way, like they do in Ov. Met.8,775-6. The image recalls a gruesome motif in Lucan's battle scenes, where the same thing happens to corpses: cf. especially 4,787 *compressum turba stetit omne cadaver*; further 2,201-6; Sen. Oed.131-2; and imitations in Sil. 4,554 and 9,321-2. The parallel has also been noticed by MORETTI 1984,44-6. For related motifs with corpses see on 575; 627 and 651.

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[1]. Contrary to Caesar, Hercules in the Senecan passage does not commit a sacrilege but replaces the mystery of the wood by a higher form of consecration; cf. OZANAM 1990,288.

gemuere: the word is used in similar context of felling trees in Verg. A.2,631 and Sen. Her.O.1626. In these cases the verb expresses the sound of trees falling[1]. Lucan has transposed the verb to the reaction of spectators.

videntes: as on other occasions in BC, the effect of a scene is heightened by the presence of spectators; cf. 2,207-8, 7,789-99, or, by contrast, their significant absence; cf. above 128-9; 6,784-7.

446 **Gallorum populi**: the barbaric tribes living around Massilia, for the expression see 74 and 1,309, further e.g. Sil. 4,216.

muris - iuventus: the inhabitants of Massilia itself, who are sharply contrasted with the *Gallorum populi*.

sed: for the inversion see on 288 *nec*.

447 **exultat**: the Massilians' joy poses a problem Cults in Massilia were either Greek or Roman, cf. RE XIV,2141-3, there are no indications that Gaulish deities were adored. Still, in describing the Massilians' joyful expectation of divine vengeance the poet implies that at least they considered the Gaulish deities to exist. It seems impossible to say whether this is historical fact or rhetorical fiction[2] However, the motif may be understood from its functions within the text. It is contrasted with the joy of Caesar's army at the prospect of fighting Massilia in 360, and prepares for the final climax in 448-9. Scholars have generally overlooked the problem here, possibly due to the rather ambivalent question *quis - deos?*.

quis - deos?: a rhetorical question. It seems uncertain who is the main focalizer here. The phrase may express the feeling of the Massilians, and the subjective reason of their joy. But it can also be a general sententia used by the poet to explain the Massilians' behaviour. Though the first seems more likely in view of the strong emotion of *exultat*, the latter is supported by 448-9 which evidently form a general sententia. A somewhat similar problem of interpretation occurred above in 415-7

laesos...esse: seems to be the only example in BC of a passive perfect infinitive in full form, *esse* being normally omitted, cf LUNDQVIST 1907,71.

putaret the conjunctive is either a past potentialis ('who could have thought ?'), or a present irrealis ('who would think ?'); cf. LHS II,332, 334

448 **servat - nocentes**. a bitter attack of the poet on the malignant force governing the course of things, *Fortuna*, and on the Gods. Although *Fortuna*, *fatum* and the Gods may be considered three aspects of the same evil force (cf. on 21), sometimes they appear to oppose each other. In these cases the contrast leads up to a paradox, here the traditional moral order is disturbed to such an extent that even sacrilege is rewarded rather than punished. *Fortuna* is openly unjust: she has not only deserted

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[1] Later examples are V Fl 3,164, Sil 5,502, further Stat Theb 6,107 *dat gemitum tellus*

[2] A third possible explanation might be that *iuventus* refers not to the Massilians but to barbaric allies summoned to their aid, such as the Albici mentioned in Caes Civ 1,34,4 But this seems rather far-fetched

Rome and Pompey (see on 21) but actively supports criminals like Caesar, as was already apparent in 393[1].

Similar indignant criticism on the injustice of *Fortuna*, *fatum* or the Gods is apparent in a large number of places e.g. 1,70; 84; 2,44; 85-8; 7,411-9; 445-55; 645-6; 8,600-6; 9,1046[2]. For the present phrase cf. especially 7,488 *atque incerta facit quos volt Fortuna nocentes*. Lucan's criticism may be an distant echo of philosophical discussions on evil and injustice in the world; cf. Sen. Dial.1,1,1. More likely, it reflects the commonplace idea of 'crime rewarded'; cf. Cato ap.Gell. 11,18,18; Sen. Ep.87,23; Phoen.590; Juv. 13,104-5.

nocentes: Lucan might well have praised Caesar for removing terror and superstition and introducing civilisation, but he gives a different twist to the argument. As I indicated above (on 412) neither the grove nor Caesar represents what is morally good: the grove is bad and Caesar is even worse. By destroying it he merely shows his brutality and lack of restraint. The poet's main rhetorical aim is clear: Caesar is to be blamed by all possible means. The key-word *nocens* may be used for anything or any one taking part in the civil war; cf. LUNDQVIST 1907,194-5. By protecting *nocentes* Fortune is responsible for the course of the war.

449 **et - possunt**: the Gods can get angry, but their wrath can hardly be distinguished from that of Fortune; cf. 1,617; 2,1; 86. *Tantum* strikes a bitter note: the Gods can only direct their anger to the *miseri*, those whom Fortune does not favour or protect; for the sad situation of such *miseri* cf. 8,486-7 *fatis accede deisque, / et cole felices, miseros fuge* and 8,535 *nulla fides umquam miseros elegit amicos* (both said by the base character Pothinus). For the thought in the present lines, cf. also 4,807-9 (which may have been the principal model for Tac. Hist.1,3).

The poet speaks about Gods only in a vague manner. Here he even obscures the difference between the local Gaulish Gods whom Caesar has offended and Gods of the general, that is: Greco-Roman type[3]. Not being a theologian but a rhetorical poet, Lucan simply passes over such problems, even after touching on them, as in 2,1-15 or 7,445-59.

450 **satis caesi nemoris**: sc. *fuit*. For *satis* with partitive genitive cf. OLD s.v. A1b. The clause implies that the grove was not cut down completely. This could perhaps be taken as yet another proof of Caesar's contempt of sacred things. He simply takes what he needs for his war apparatus and leaves the matter there, not taking pains even to conclude the destruction of the wood.

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1. For Fortune's support of Caesar's cause, cf. also e.g. 1,264-5; 4,121-3; 7,285-7.

2. Similar accusations may be found in Statius, but only in the direct speech of one of the characters; cf. FRANCHET D'ESPERY 1983,102 who compares the role of fate in the epics of Lucan and Statius.

3. The confusion may already be present in *deos*. This depends on how the rhetorical question is interpreted; see on 447.

451 plaustra: the subject of *ferunt*. For the transport of the timber, cf. Caes. Civ.2,1,4 mentioning *iumenta*. The *plaustra* are perhaps inspired by Verg. A.11,138, at the end of an epic scene of felling trees (cf. on 440).

curvo - iuvencis: 'the farmers wept over (the loss of) the harvest of the land left fallow by the curved plough because they were robbed of their oxen'. That is, the oxen are confiscated; hence the farmers cannot cultivate their grounds and grow products'.

Lucan's majestic lines form a clear allusion to two places in Vergil's *Georgica* which seem to have remained unnoticed up to now. Cf. Verg. G. 1,494 (immediately following the well known mention of the Roman civil wars) and especially 2,513-5 *agricola incurvo terram dimovit aratro: hinc anni labor, hinc patriam parvosque penates / sustinet, hinc armenta boum meritosque iuvencos*[1]. Whereas Vergil' lines conclude a priamel on various forms of human corruption by hailing farmers as the cornerstones of society, here we see how farmers are robbed of their main tool and are thus prevented from working. Because of his strategy of war Caesar disrupts not only the legal and sacral order (cf. 112-68 and 339-449) but also the social and economic order, that is, all foundations of human society (cf. also above on 436).

cessantis: for *cessare* in this sense 'to be left fallow' cf. Verg. G.1,71; Ov. Tr.3,10,70; Man. 1,74; further TLL III,961,76ff.

452 annum: cf. on 70.

453 dux tamen...: the main action is resumed, briefly developed and abruptly broken off again. In less than three lines we hear how Caesar loses patience and heads for Spain, after ordering to continue the siege of Massilia. Lines 453-5 round off the block 298-455 in a similar manner as it had started in 298, and prepare for the next block where Caesar is no longer present. As RUTZ 1950,16-19 notes, it also points forward to book 4. For historical details see below on 455.

dux: Caesar, who was already called so in 48. He will not reappear before 4,1.

impatiens: the *mora* caused by the Massilians' resistance (cf. on 388 and 392) provokes Caesar's anger, impatience and desire for action. For his impatience see also 1,124; BURCK/RUTZ 1979,191 oppose it to the *patientia* of Vergil's Aeneas. Lucan might have derided the general's departure as a humiliating failure to take the city by storm. But he avoids giving too much weight to set-backs of Caesar's plans, and varies once more the theme of Caesar's impetuous energy.

haesuri - Martis: 'of a war which was bound to come to a standstill near the walls'. In *haesuri* we see Caesar's expectation of the war, not the poet's assessment; it is another case of embedded focalization. Several translators are very careless here (e.g. LUCK's 'Als der Kampf...zum Stillstand kam'). For the thought cf. 7,547 *constitit hic bellum fortunaque Caesaris haesit*. For words of delay cf. on 52 and 388. Ironically, once Caesar is gone the actual fighting near Massilia will begin.

454 versus - acies: Caesar heads for Spain. Unlike the Alps of 299, the Pyrenees are not explicitly mentioned.

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[1]. For *curvo...aratro* cf. also Lucr. 5,933; 6,1253; Verg. G.1,170; 2,189; Ov. Met.3,11; Fast.2,517; further TLL II,399,50ff. The slow rhythm of Lucan's lines equally recalls the Vergilian passages.

Hispanas: the adjective *Hispanus* is used only here in BC, replacing the common *Hiber* or *Hiberus*.

extremaque mundi: a periphrasis for Spain. Apart from announcing book 4, the mention of Spain serves to widen the view of the reader, much like the geographical names in 169-297. By being extended to the *extrema mundi*, the war is presented once again in its world wide dimensions; cf. on 169-297 (4). For *extremaque mundi*, cf. 4,1 (*extremis terrarum... in oris* for Spain) and 10,276 (the far West)[1]; for *extremus* cf. also on 249. Combinations of a plural neuter adjective with a the genitive of a noun occur since Ennius and Lucretius; cf. Bailey on Lucretius (vol.I,91-2); Conte on 6,138; OBERMEIER 1886,48-9; LHS II,53.

455 **iussit bella geri**: as Caesar himself tells us in Civ.1,36,5, he put D. Brutus in charge of the fleet, while C. Trebonius was ordered to complete the siege; cf. also D.C. 41,19,3-4[2]; for the chronological order of events and the division of the Caesarean legions see RAMBAUD 1976,859-61. Lucan names Brutus several times (first in 514), but remains silent on Trebonius. In so doing he creates the impression that the operations on land are still very much the work of Caesar personally[3].

455-508 After final preparations of Caesar's army, the siege of Massilia begins. The Massilians strongly defend themselves and are not defeated.

(1) Summary:

Preparations for Caesar's ground offensive are completed and the siege is launched. The Massilians' defence proves strong and all attacks are successfully repelled. During a nocturnal sortie they even set fire to the Roman camp.

(2) Structure:

The present scene is the first part of a new long block 455-762, which continues the block 298-455. The central character Caesar has disappeared (see 453-5) and will not reappear before 4,1. He is not replaced by Pompey, who will reappear much later, in 5,14, or by any other person. The block may be said to have no main character at all. It consists of a number of battle scenes, both on land (455-508) and at sea (509-762). For convenience's sake, the block 455-762 as a whole will be dealt with later on, immediately before the naval battle; see on 509-762.

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1. In 4,233 *extrema mundi* is used for the East and in 669 for Africa. Cf. further 6,325, 7,541, 8,797, a o..

2. Incidentally, Caesar himself and Dio immediately go on to describe operations in Spain, whereas Lucan has arranged the events in a different way; cf. on 298-455 *Historical sources* with note on Caesar

3. Earlier scholars have not always understood Lucan's style of writing, cf SAMSE 1905,50 who assumed a lacuna after 454 and suggested a hexameter of his own to fill it <*persequitur generum bello, peregrinaque Bruto*> Flor Epit 2,13,25 wrongly states that Brutus alone is responsible for operations on land and at sea

The present scene is the immediate sequel to the previous block. With the wood cut in the grove (399-455) Caesar's planned siege of Massilia (372-98) is carried out. It may be divided in four parts In the first three, the Roman attack is described in three phases (455-62; 474-80, 487-92), each one meeting with an adequate response on the part of the defendants. In the fourth part they are the ones who take the initiative, setting fire to the Roman camp during a sortie at night (497-508). As the structure indicates, the Caesareans utterly fail to conquer the city

(3) Historical material:

Lucan's account of the battle of Massilia is different from that of the historians; cf. on 298-455, 372-398; 509-762. Here he seems to have used Caesar's account: the strong defences of the town, especially ballistic missiles, are dealt with in Caes Civ 2,2 and the Caesarean war apparatus in Caes. Civ 2,8-15. But as usual Lucan has adapted his material A striking example of his method is the distorted account of the sortie, see on 498.

(4) Literary material:

As in 372-98, the poet concentrates very much upon military and strategic details. In this respect his scene recalls historiography rather than Homeric and Vergilian epic. But the realia are not intended to provide a detailed report on the material or the battle, as a brief comparison with Caesar's account shows Only those details are selected which serve the poet's general aims, or which may be grouped in contrasting pairs and be worked out poetically Lucan does not give an integrated account of the siege as Caesar does, but presents isolated moments in a schematic order, cf SYNDIKUS 1958,52 In addition, several lines recall themes from the didactic and epic traditions; cf on e.g. 459, 470, 482.

Along with descriptions, catalogues and speeches, battle scenes are an important epic element in BC[1]. In particular, sieges in epic are as old as the *Iliad*, cf. e.g. Verg A 2,438-50, 9,503-20, further RAABE 1974,199-205 Often towers play a role in them, see below on 456.

To the Romans' advanced military strategy the Massilians respond successfully with mainly simple means rapid shafts, rocks and stones, fire, stakes and poles[2]. Lucan's sympathy is clearly with them, although less explicitly than in the previous scenes, attention being shifted to the confrontation of forces

Although sieges of cities occur in BC (cf. 2,478-25 and 9,297-9, cf. also the passage referred to on 372-98 (4)), this is the only elaborate example. A more interesting parallel is furnished by 10,439-546 where Caesar himself is surrounded and attacked in the palace of Alexandria.

As in the previous scenes, the contrast of Massilia and Rome is manifest: Caesar had taken the latter without a fight (91-2, 97-9)

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[1] For a recent, rather disappointing analysis of BC's battle scenes see ESPOSITO 1987

[2] For Massilia's defensive measures see also Vitr 10,16,11 He concentrates on the effect of *archutectorum sollertia* used against machines Vitruvius' account contains some interesting elements which might well have been used by Lucan, cf also below on 466 and 493

(5) Imitations:
The siege of Massilia inspired Torquato Tasso in his 18th book of the 'Gerusalemme Liberata', where Jerusalem is attacked by Rainald; cf. PARATORE 1971,18-9.

455 **stellatis axibus**: 'with planks arranged lattice-wise'. The *agger* (cf. 382 and 396) is reinforced with timber supports at the outer ends to the left and to the right; cf. the close imitation in Sil. 13,109 *hic latera intextus stellatis axibus agger*. In thus constructing the *agger* Caesar carries the plan of 396-8 into effect. *Axis* is not the common word for *axle*, as BOURGERY interprets it, but a variant for *assis* 'plank'; cf. TLL II,1639,77ff.

456 **geminas - turris**: 'a pair of towers reaching as high as the walls'. As soon as the mould is reinforced (396-8; 455), it can support the weight of towers. For these towers cf. Caes. Civ.2,1,1; 2,2,6[1]. Lucan fails to mention any defensive tower of the Massilians (cf. Caes. Civ.2,2,5; 2,10,7). In epic, towers are commonly called high: 2,452; 679; 4,431; further e.g. Verg. A.2,460-2; 4,187; Ov. Met.3,61; Stat. Theb.5,352; Sil. 13,104-5. For the plural of *geminus* in this sense cf. OLD s.v. 4. The Comm.Bern. on 461 are said to contain a sketch of Caesar erecting towers near Massilia (cf. USENER in app.crit.).

457 **hae nullo - terram**: 'they did not transfix the ground by wood', that is, they were not fastened to the mould.

458 **causa...latenti**: they were moved by means of hidden wheels or rollers. A similar hidden movement may be observed in a ship in 4,420-6. For hidden causes cf. 1,418-9; 10,190; see also on 417 *timeant* with note. Line 458 is quoted by Prisc. GLK 2,531,23.

459 **nutaret**: the towers sway but do not fall, as they do in Verg. A.2,460-8; 9,530-44; Stat. Theb.9,554-6; Sil. 1,362-4. In most of these cases their fall causes many casualties and victims. Here destruction will come from the missiles launched by the Massilians; the tower motif is worked out differently (see below).

telluris - credidit: 'believed that wind attempting to break out had shaken the hollow recesses of the earth'. Traditionally in epic, the earth is said to tremble and make noise beneath the feet of soldiers or horses; cf. Hom. Il.2,465-6; 780-5; Verg. A.7,722. Here the same effect is caused by towers. The epic topos has been combined with a motif from didactic poetry, the explanation of earthquakes as caused by subterranean winds[2]; cf. Lucr. 6,557-60; Aetna 146-74[3]. This explanation was popular in antiquity; cf. Sen. Nat.6,12-25; Plin. Nat.2,192; in general RE

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1. At a later stage Caesar also builds fixed towers, cf. Caes. Civ.2,8-9; 2,14,4-5.

2. EHLERS' translation 'Gas' is anachronistical.

3. Man. 4,828-9 mentions earthquakes but omits the explanation. Cf. also Nero Frgm.5 (Buechner) *sub terris tonuisse putes*, a phrase said to have been quoted by Lucan in a public latrine (cf. Suet. Vita Luc.4). The words probably came from a similar context of earthquakes. Cf. further Stat. Theb.7,809-17.

Sup.IV,370-1. Lucan's lines are quoted in several later ancient sources, e.g. Brev.exp. Verg.G. 2,479; Serv. on Verg. A.3,73.

inanes...sinus: for the phrase cf. Aetna 117-8; Sen. Oed.969; for *sinus* used of the earth cf. Sen. Tro.172; Her.O.267; Petr. 119,4. *Inanes* is the reading of nearly all MSS; HOUSMAN and SHACKLETON BAILEY read *inanis*, but this is supported only by MG (cf. GOTOFF 1971,50).

461 **muros...stare**: in a real earthquake the city walls would have collapsed, especially in a region like southern Gaul, where the phenomenon is rare and is not likely to be reckoned with by architects. For the idea OUDENDORP compares Liv. 38,5,3-4.

iuventus: the soldiers of Massilia.

462 **excelsas...in arces**: cf. 379 *celsam... in arcem*.

463 **sed**: the word gives a clear structure to the passage. Here, as well as in 480 and 493, it introduces the Massilians' response to a Caesarean offensive; cf. also on a lower level the function of *at* in 469 and 484.

Graio Romana: Lucan constantly calls the Massilians 'Greeks' (see on 302) and the Caesareans 'Romans' (cf. 502; 529; 556 a.o.). Apart from being convenient this enables the poet to create brilliant contrasts and striking phrases, as here and e.g. 610. In the context of civil war, his sympathy is paradoxically with the foreign 'Greeks' rather than with his countrymen.

corpora ferro: a common ending; cf. 588; 7,582; Catul. 64,355; Verg. A.9,410; 11,864; Ov. Ep.3,145; more examples in SCHUMANN 1983 s.v..

464 **excussa lacertis**: the idiom is traditional; cf. also 567; 1,424; 4,386; further Ov. Met.12,79; Ep.4,43; Pont.2,9,57.

465 **lancea**: a long light spear, according to OLD s.v.; for the different sorts of arms in epic cf. FOLSE 1936,67-71.

tenso - rapta: 'hurled by the tense whirling of a *ballista*'. The *ballista* is a powerful machine designed for discharging stones. It could be adapted for shooting arrows and other missiles (normally shot with the smaller *catapulta*); cf. Vitr.10,11-2 (for which see MARSDEN 1971,188-205, with notes and illustrations); in general MARSDEN 1969,1; WARRY 1980,178 (with illustration). The word is used by early Latin poets like Plautus; for later poets cf. Ov. Met.11,509; Tr.1,2,48; Sen. Phaed.535. Lucan also uses the word in 2,686 and 6,200. The power of Massilian artillery is acknowledged by Caesar (Civ.2,2) who specifically mentions *ballistae* (2,2,2; cf. below); cf. also Vitr. 10,16,12.

turbine: denotes a spinning or whirling motion; cf. OLD s.v.4. In view of Lucan's complex expression, this might refer to the stretching of the *ballista* (cf. 2,686 *torta*), but it seems more likely that the movement of the spear is meant; cf. Verg. A.11,284; 12,320; V.Fl. 3,78. Sil. 2,135; a.o..

466 **haud unum - vulnera cursus**: missiles launched from *ballistae* could gain tremendous speed; cf. Veget. Mil.4,22 (*qui...penetrat quodcumque percusserit*). MARSDEN 1969,95-6 refers to some other amazing stories about their impact: J. BJ 3,245; Arr. An.2,27,2; Procop. Goth.1,23,9-12 . The devastating effect here is confirmed by Caes. Civ.2,2,3 though he speaks of long beams with spiked ends rather than spears. Curiously, Vitr. 10,16,11 says that the Massilian *ballistae* are used to launch red-hot

iron bars which set fire to their targets. Lucan uses this element of fire only as a climax at the end of the scene (493; 498-508).

latus: cf. on 123 *percussa*.

467 sed pandens - fugit: 'but making its way through armour and bones left death behind it and moved on'. Cf. Verg. A.11,696 *perque arma viro perque ossa*; further BC 7,497-8.

468 superest - cursus: the spear retains some of its force after having pierced a soldier's body. For the idea cf. Verg. A.10,339-41 (already referred to by the scholia); for the phrase with *superest* HASKINS compares Verg. G.2,331 and 3,63.

469 saxum: after having shot spears the *ballista* is used for its normal purpose of shooting stones; cf. on 465. Caesar mentions *lapides* in Civ.2,2,4.

ingenti - actu: 'by the powerful impulse of a thong'. For *verber* see Verg. G.1,309; Ov. Met.7,777; Sil. 1,314. LUCK adopts the reading *ictu* found in U and in Phocas GLK 5,428,24 (who quotes the line). However, *ictus* is used when a missile hits a target (as in 494), not when it is launched.

470 qualis rupes...: a huge rock falling down from the mountains is a traditional epic image; cf. Hom. Il.13,137-42; Hes. Sc.374-78; 437-40 and Verg. A.12,685-9, Lucan's principal model[1]. But the poet has considerably altered his epic model. It is no longer a warrior who is compared to a stone, but another stone (for this sort of Lucanean comparisons cf. on 41). Moreover, the usual effect of crushing is shifted from the image to the fact, *saxum* being the subject of lines 472-3. Finally, the details of the crushing are particularly brutal and chilling. Whereas Homer and Hesiod had pictured the crushing of trees, and Vergil (688-9) had only subtly added cattle and men, Lucan fully concentrates on human victims exclusively: *corpora* form the only example of the impersonal *frangit cuncta* and the process of death is deliberately visualised in detail by *pressa*, *exanimat* and the final element of gruesome mutilation.

vertice montis: a common ending; cf. 6,476; Catul. 68,57; Verg. A.5,35; 11,526; Prop. 1,20,33; further SCHUMANN 1983 s.v.. In Verg. A.12,684 the words are used elsewhere in the verse.

471 impulsu - vetustas: 'age helped by the blast of the winds'; both elements are mentioned separately in Verg. A.12,685-6. Lucan combines them, and is followed in this by V.Fl. 2,528 (*eleganti imitatione* as OUDENDORP says).

473 totos - artus: for the thought of utter destruction of human bodies cf. Juv. 3,259-61 (noted by HASKINS). Typically, Lucan does not fail to include the element of blood with which Silver latin epic poets seem so much obsessed; see on 124.

474 testudine: in the second phase of their attack, the Romans are said to make use of a 'tortoise'. As OLD s.v.3 explains, this may either be a screen formed by troops locking their shields together above their heads (as in Liv. 34,39,6; 44,9,6; further RE II 5 A 1062ff) or a mobile wooden screen for siege-engines (as in Caes.

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[1]. After Lucan cf. V.Fl. 6,383; Stat. Theb.7,744-9; Sil. 1,370-2; 4,521-3. The physical phenomenon of falling rocks is dealt with by e.g. Lucr. 5,313-7 and Sen. Nat.6,22.

Civ.2,2,4). Considering lines 475-6 only the first can be meant here. For *densa testudine* cf. Verg. A.9,514; here the words must be taken with *tecta*.

475 **virtus**: abstractum pro concreto, as in Verg. A.10,410. The word has no particular philosophical connotation here[1].

armisque - ferunt: 'and the men in the first line carry their weapons joined to the weapons <of the others behind them>'. With *armisque* we must think *aliorum* or a similar word. *-Que* is explicative (see below). The sentence works out *densa testudine* and will be explained itself in 476. Older scholars have proposed various other interpretations which seem less likely; cf. below on *priores*.

innexa: the reading of ZMG adopted by most modern editors, except for LUCK and SHACKLETON BAILEY who follow the reading of PUV *innixa*. The decisive evidence here must come from the context. *Innexa* seems a far better term to use to describe the joining together of shields than *innixa* 'leaning on, being held up by'. Therefore I retain the traditional text along with BADALI 1989,166.

priores: the men who form the first line, the subject of *ferunt*. LUCK reads *prioris* (genitive singular), thus following GROTIUS without naming him. However, the reading does not have much MSS' authority, and this interpretation has already been refuted by FRANCKEN, whose own interpretation ('ubi primi oppugnatores cum hostibus manus conseruerunt') is even worse since it spoils the effect of the threefold *ut*-clause and the passage as a whole. HOUSMAN's comment 'Romanorum, non eorum qui testudinem faciunt' remains quite mysterious to me.

476 **galeamque - umbo**: the helmets of the men in the first line are protected by shields held above their heads by soldiers behind them. This visualises the rather abstract *armis - ferunt*, which itself visualised *densa testudine*. The poet appears to say the same thing three times, but actually he presents one thing in three successive stages of precision. Thus he elaborates a single minor element[2] into a three line description of assault, which also recalls places in Homer such as Il.16,215. For Lucan's paraphrase technique, see on 232.

umbo: the boss of a shield. Here as pars pro toto for 'shield', as in 4,39; 6,192; 7,493; V.Fl. 3,90; Juv.2,46.

478 **iam - cadunt**: after the Romans have approached the walls, the missiles launched by the Massilians fall behind their backs. The machines are no longer effective since their range is too large.

nec Grais - modum: 'but for the Greeks it was not easy to shift the range or change the method of the machine aimed at long distance shots'. Due to its lack of flexibility, a *ballista* (here denoted with the general term *tormentum*) could not easily be adapted to changing circumstances.

flectere iactum: 'shift the range'. For *iactus* in this sense cf. Verg. A.11,608.

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1. On such dimensions of the word elsewhere in BC see EISENHUT 1973,153-6.

2. This *testudo* formation is not even mentioned in Caesar's account of the siege. Caes. Civ.2,2,4 deals with a wooden *testudo* (cf. on 474).

479 aut...parati: two generally accepted readings which both rely on lesser MSS' authority: *aut* appears only in M^2Z^1 instead of *haut* or *haud* found in the other MSS; *parati* only in A^2BYUVWJ as opposed to *paratis* in the other MSS; cf. GOTOFF 1971,146. According to FRASSINETTI 1991, the late position of *aut* in the sentence is a problem, but this seems exaggerated.

480 mutare modum: it is safe to follow the OLD s.v. *modum* 9 who quotes our text as an example of the meaning 'manner of performing an action', 'method'. However, this does seem rather weak. Perhaps *mutare modum* is a concrete explanation of *flectere iactum*, analogous to what happens in 474-6 (see on *galeamque - umbo* 476).

In this case we might think of Vitr. 10,12,2 where sound is used to establish the correct tension of the spring-cord, and catapults are even said to be 'tuned' (*temperantur*). It is not impossible that Lucan is alluding to this technical detail. The Massilians then, are not able to change the machine's range by 'altering the tone', that is, by reducing the tension of its spring-cord. For *modus* as a musical term for tone, cf. OLD s.v.; TLL VIII,1255,39ff.

481 nudis - lacertis: 'they roll out boulders with their bare arms'. The motif seems inspired by Verg. A.9,512-20[1], but Lucan puts some additional stress on the simplicity of the means with which the Romans are repelled, both in *pondere solo* and here. *Nudus* in this sense occurs in e.g. 9,594; Ov. Tr.2,408; Sen. Ben.6,10,2; HASKINS compares Ov. Tr.3,11,17-8 and Sen. Ben.3,18,2. For the combination with *lacertus* see 1,189; for the ending *saxa lacertis* 1,384.

In Vitr. 10,16,11-2 the Massilian defences form an illustration of the cleverness of architects compared to the impact of machines. In Lucan's version, the same contrast is used for a pathetic climax. The physical strength and spirit of resistance of the Massilians surpasses the effects of their machines.

482 dum - series: 'as long as the linkage of the shields continued'. *Series* is used in a similar context in 7,493.

ut grandine - sonant: 'like roofs rattling when struck by innocuous hail'. Comparisons with hail are traditional; cf. Hom. Il.10,6; 15,170; 22,151; Verg. A.10,803-8; G.4,80; Ov. Pont.4,7,34; Liv. 28,37,7. In particular, hail is pictured as rattling upon a roof in Verg. A.5,458-9; A.R. 2,1083-7; and also rebounding from it in Verg. G.1,449-50; Ov. Met.12,480 (cf. Bömer a.l.). Lucan has shifted attention to the harmlessness of this hail. He may have been inspired by Liv. 44,9,9 where missiles launched at a *testudo* are compared with innocuous rain; cf. further Sen. Ep.45,9 (of hail, but in a different context)[2]. In general cf. AYMARD 1951,84-5.

484 respuit: the subject is to be taken from *armorum series*.

incerta: the reading of nearly all MSS and Serv. on Verg. A.9,515 who quotes 484-6. Only V reads *incensa*, but considering the context this would be out of place

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1. The passages of Vergil and Lucan have further influenced Tac. Hist.3,27. For the military aspect see also Veget. Mil.4,8.

2. In a later development of the image after Lucan, *grando* itself is used metaphorically for volleys of missiles; OLD s.v. quotes Stat. Theb.9,488; Sil. 2,38 a.o..

here. *Virtus incerta virorum* refers to the wavering courage or strength (cf. 475) of the Roman soldiers. In support of the MSS' text, BLATT 1959,67 further adduces Sen. Ep.66,11.

485 **perpetuam...cratem**: 'continuous network'. *Cratis* is not a hurdle or a fascine used for military purposes as in e.g. 495; Caes. Civ.1,25,9; Vitr. 10,14,3, but is used metaphorically to describe the interlocked shields; cf. Verg. G.4,214[1]. As soon as the network is broken, the single shields can no longer endure the blows of the stones (486).

defesso milite: ablative absolute. It is irregular here if the same persons are meant as in *virorum* of the main clause; cf. LHS II,139-40. If Lucan were suggesting that the courage of the Caesarean army as a whole started wavering after part of the soldiers had grown tired, the syntax would be normal, but such an interpretation seems rather far-fetched.

486 **cesserunt**: 'gave way to'. The Roman shields can no longer stand the continuous attacks of Massilian missiles.

487 **vinea**: a mobile penthouse used to shelter soldiers approaching the walls of a besieged town; cf. Caes. Civ.2,2; in general JUDSON 1888,98-9 (with illustration); RE IX-A,106ff. Lucan is not the first poet to use the word: cf. Prop. 4,10,34. Its roof was usually covered with hides (cf. Veget. Mil.4,15) to protect against fire. Here this function is performed by light pieces of turf. Lucan already used the word in 2,506.

488 **sub cuius pluteis - latentes**: a *pluteus* is a mobile screen made of wood or wickerwork used to protect soldiers taking part in a siege. The word is not used in higher poetry before Lucan, but it is attested to as early as in Lucil.938 W. *Vineae* and *plutei* are often mentioned together (cf. e.g. Tac. Hist.2,21), but they are not synonyms. Nor is the *pluteus* a part of the *vinea*, as the present text seems to imply and as translators have generally interpreted it. Lucan's obscure line is explained by RE XXI,980,29ff: *plutei* are added in support of the *vineae*, hence 'the *plutei* of the *vineae*'. While the *plutei* cover the front side of the *vineae*, soldiers hiding behind these *vineae* carry out their mission. Thus *pluteis et tecta fronte* must be taken as a hendiadys: the *frons* of the *vinea* is covered by the *plutei*.

489 **moliri - moenia**: 'they try to burst the wall's foundations and pull them down with iron instruments'. We should connect *ima* with *moenia*. *Moliri* is not exactly the same as *vertere*: the former indicates the act of forcing something from its position, the latter of actually demolishing it. The 'iron instruments' are probably *vectes* 'crowbars'.

490 **aries**: a battering ram, an instrument Lucan apparently liked very much; cf. 1,384; 6,36; 200; 8,377; 10,480; further Verg. A.2,492; Prop. 4,10,33; Liv. 21,8,5; Sen. Dial.2,6,4. See also below.

suspenso...ictu: a battering ram either lay upon a number of rollers on a car, or was suspended in a larger structure by means of chains; cf. KROMAYER/VEITH

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[1]. Lucan's text is not quoted by TLL among the examples of metaphorical usage, TLL IV,1112,32ff, but wrongly included among those of the literal sense in a military context, TLL IV,1112,11. OLD s.v. is more accurate.

1928,224-5, with illustrations in Tafel 14); in general RE Suppl XI,872,57ff. Evidently the latter form is meant here. HASKINS' 'because its blow is held back for a time' is wrong.

491 **densi**: a rather unusual epithet for a wall, for which TLL V,546,40 gives no parallel.

compagem solvere: for the phrase cf. 1,72; Pers. 3,58; Stat. Theb 8,31; Sil. 17,606-7, Plin. Nat 25,20, Tac Hist.3,27, Claud 33,115.

492 **inpositis - saxis**. 'remove one stone from those placed upon it'. HOUSMAN remarks that we would expect *singula* instead of *unum* here, but as SHACKLETON BAILEY 1982,93 rightly says, 'the ram *starts* by battering away at a single block until that is dislodged'. The poet does not describe the whole operation, but singles out one specific moment[1]

493 **sed....** in their third response to the Romans, the Massilians use various elementary means: fire, stones, stakes and poles, the success of these weapons may even be seen in Caes Civ 2,2, though Caesar tries to dissimulate it. Lucan's passage is imitated by Stat Theb 10,532-6 In Vitruvius' account of the siege, the Massilians successfully defend themselves against the ram by lifting its head with a rope and demolishing it by means of missiles, cf Vitr. 10,16,12.

magnae fragmine molis. most scholars interpret *magnae molis* as a genitive of quality ('of great mass'), rendering e g 'with enormous, jagged stones' (WIDDOWS). But TLL VI,1231,52 explains *molis* as *mun* (cf Sil. 1,492 *fragmine mun*). This would result in 'with pieces broken off from the huge mass', which seems excellent here The Massilians even use their town wall as a source of new missiles They may use material lying scattered due to the Roman battering ram, or, more likely, deliberately hew off stones from the wall, behaving very much like the crews of the ships in 670-4.

494 **et sudibus - ictu** 'by a rain of stakes and by blows from oaken poles hardened by fire' (DUFF) All translators distinguish the *sudes* from the *adustum robur*. But it seems equally possible to regard the whole line as a hendiadys, considering the frequent mention of *sudes* hardened by fire, e g. Verg. A.7,524 *sudibusve praeustis*; and other texts referred to by Williams on Stat. Theb.10,532 *nigrasque sudes*.

495 **crates**. here (unlike 485) in the literal sense of fascines used for military purposes, probably as covering of the *vineae* as in Caes. Civ.2,2[2], Veget. Mil 4,15, cf. RE IV,1683,23ff

frustra - exhausto: 'after this fruitless labor' (WIDDOWS). *Exhaurio* suggests that the efforts have come to an end, and thus ends the part of the siege in which the Romans take the initiative.

496 **tentoria**: pars pro toto for 'camp', as in 4,18, 663; 5,510; 6,102 a.o..

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[1] Recently, FRASSINETTI 1991,89 has defended an old emendation *unum*, referring to 489 *molun. una* However, that parallel would spoil the effect Emendation is entirely superfluous here

[2] As noted above on 466, in the Caesarean text the Massilians launch beams with spiked ends by means of *ballistae* Thus Caesar can explain how they pierce four layers of *crates*

497 **summa...voti**: 'the full extent of hope', 'all that they hoped for'; for *summa voti* cf. Plin. Ep.10,2,2; cf. further Plin. Ep.7,26,2; Pan.44,2; 74,4; Juv. 5,18. In BC cf. 8,51 *summa pavoris*; 10,526 *vindictae...summa*; see also on 329, where *summa* has a slightly different meaning.

fuit: sc. hitherto, as HASKINS rightly observes. The rather defensive attitude of the Massilians during the Romans' attacks is contrasted with their action following in the next lines.

498 **ultro - parant**: during a sortie at night the Massilians set fire to the Roman camp. In Lucan's text it seems a brave counter-attack by the Massilians which further discourages the Roman soldiers (cf. 496; 509). But in Caesar's account (Civ.2,12-6) (i) the sortie constitutes a perfidious violation of a truce arranged by Trebonius (2,12-13); (ii) it takes place in broad daylight, during siesta time (2,14,1); (iii) the Massilians attempt another sortie next day, but are defeated because the Romans are prepared for it (2,14,5); (iv) after the incident, the siege continues with newly constructed Roman siege works rapidly making up for the losses (2,15-6). Earlier, Caesar had already mentioned *crebrae eruptiones* from within the city, in which attempts were made to set fire to the Roman siege apparatus; Civ.2,2,6. Nothing of this can be found in Lucan, evidently because it would have shed a very different light upon the Massilians. For the element of night, see on 499 *nocturni*[1].

ultro acies: elision of a long vowel before two short syllables is relatively rare in BC. The only other example in book 3 is 676 *multi inopes*; cf. SHACKLETON BAILEY,292.

armisque...texere: 'they held... behind their shields'.

499 **nocturni**: 'at night', an attributive adjective replacing an adverb. In the Silver Latin period, adjectives denoting a part of the day may be used in this manner, probably after Greek examples; for *nocturnus* cf. Verg. G.3,538; Aen.5,868; Hor. Ars 269; Ov. Met.15,797. Earlier several other groups of adjectives could already be used in this concrete way, e.g. those indicating mood, place, mode or number; cf. OBERMEIER 1886,19-20; LHS II,171-3. Here it is an attribute of the subject (to be taken from *Grais*)[2].

As mentioned above, in Lucan's version the sortie takes place at night, and not in daylight as in Caes. Civ.2,14,1. It seems impossible to say who is right[3], but the poet may have had good poetical reasons either to emphasize the motif of night or to set the entire scene in a nocturnal setting. Night and darkness are often associated in some way with the Pompeian party (cf. e.g. on 399-455 (4)). Moreover,

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1. On the truce as a whole cf. CLERC 1929,139-43, but the French historian has a strong bias against Caesar.

2. The important MSS MZUP read *nocturnis* here. In that case it would be the attribute of *armis*. Though this is not impossible, scholars have generally preferred *nocturni* found in all other MSS; cf. GOTOFF 1971,117.

3. To make things worse, D.C. 41,25,2 attributes the breaking of the truce to the Caesareans, saying that they attacked the Massilians at night. Flor. Epit.2,13,24 in his pro-Caesarean reference to the action gives no indication about its timing.

the dark night forms a suitable background for the bright colours of the blazing fire, a strong contrast of dark and light which Lucan favours so much; cf. especially 2,79 and 686-7; further 1,186-7 and PATERNI 1987,123; see also above on 400 *obscurum*.

audax: the word is used in an entirely positive sense here; cf. also on 144. Lucan's phrase is echoed by Stat. Theb.10,495-6.

500 **non hasta - flamma fuit**: a short negation antithesis, for which see on 49. Here the anaphora of *non* is striking.

letifer arcus: the ending is taken from Verg. A.10,169.

501 **telum flamma fuit**: a paradox, the natural phenomenon 'fire' being included among concrete weapons such as the spear or the bow. Lucan does not specify the means through which the fire was put into effect until 504, where torches are meant.

The mention of *ventus* later in the line seems a faithful echo of Caes. Civ.2,14,2 where the wind quickly spreads the Massilians' fire over all Roman military installations. However, it may also contain a further clue as to the deeper meaning of Lucan's words. shortly before the outbreak of hostilities, Caesar proudly compared himself to wind and fire (362-5). Now these natural forces are turned against his own troops, having become the weapons of his enemy; see also below on 507. Contrary to 362-5, where wind and fire lose their force (cf. *vires* in 362 and 504) due to the lack of resistance, here the fire gains strength rapidly due to the numerous objects it meets with[1].

rapiensque incendia: for *rapere* with 'fire' as object cf. on 684.

503 **nec...**: lines 503-7, illustrating the great impact of the fire, contain two more negation antitheses (cf. on 500). Evidently, the whole description would make little impression without the device. Contrary to all expectations, the fire consumes even green wood and rocks. This seems to reflect the tough struggle of the Massilians against the massive Roman attack

viridi...robore: 'with green wood'. The bright colour of green is very unusual in BC, occurring only here and in 9,523 (*silva*) *virens*. Here Lucan presents a relatively colourful combination of green wood, black smoke, and (by implication) yellow and red fire. For Lucan's colours cf. above on 98 and 400 *obscurum*. For the present contrast of bright and dark see above on 499. The image of fire struggling with green wood may recall Liv. 6,2,11 (in a similar context).

lentas - vires: '(nor) did the fire slowly put forth its strength'.

504 **taeda**: the Massilians use burning torches, probably much like those used in 681-3.

raptus: cf. 501 *rapiensque incendia* and see further on 684.

505 **consequitur - fumi**: '(the fire) follows ample billows of smoke'. Normally, smoke is said to be driven upwards by fire. Lucan's poetical phrase is a further element in his picture of the fire as an active, dynamic force, cf. on 503 *nec...*. For the end of the line cf. Verg. A.3,206 and especially Ov Met.13,601 *nigrique volumine fumi*, to which

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[1] SCHÖNBERGER 1968,100-1 wrongly supposes that the fire reflects a revenge on the part of the Gods injured by Caesar in the cutting of the grove There is no sign of a divine element here Moreover, the Gods have been explicitly said to be powerless against guilty men like Caesar (448-9)

Lucan has added the majestic *spatiosa*. *Niger* is, of course, not a surprising epithet for smoke; cf. 6,535.

506 silvas: at first sight *silvas*, *saxa* and *cautes* seem to refer to elements of nature. But considering the context, they can hardly be anything but parts of the *agger*, which falls down as a result of the fire (508). Accordingly, we should render 'logs', 'stones' and 'pieces of rocks'; cf. already HASKINS on *silvas*; for the stones, see below on 508. The sevenfold *s*-sound in line 506 represents the effect of the fire on the acoustic level.

507 crudae - cautes: 'solid pieces of rock disintegrated into crumbling dust'. The idea of rocks dissolving due to fire belongs to the sphere of science; cf. e.g. Vitr. 2,7,2; Aetna 511-65; Plin. Nat.33,71; 36,137-8; 36,200-1.

Perhaps Lucan is also alluding to a well known story about Hannibal, who, in his crossing the Alps, is said to have cut his way through a huge rock after treating it with fire and vinegar; cf. Liv. 21,37,2-3 (esp. the words *ardentiaque saxa infuso aceto putrefaciunt*, cf. *putri*); further App. Hann.4; Juv. 10,153; Amm.Marc. 15,10,11. Caesar has already been compared to Hannibal crossing the Alps (see on 299). Therefore, this might be a further subtle reference to the idea that Caesar's own weapons are now turned against his troops; see on 501.

508 procubuit: Caes. Civ.2,14 confirms that the rampart was set on fire and was destroyed. But he goes on to describe a new rampart built by the Romans, now of a special kind involving two brick walls each six feet thick; cf. Caes. Civ.2,15. Lucan remains silent on this new, huge Caesarean work, but in view of the *saxa* and *cautes* mentioned in 506-7, he seems to have combined elements of both historic ramparts in his description. This poetic concentration and anti-Caesarean adaptation of historical facts is fully in accordance with his normal practice.

maiorque iacens: as so often, the final line of the scene contains a paradox: after its collapse, the rampart appears even larger than before.

509-762 The Romans engage in a naval battle against the Massilians. After fierce clashes, involving a large number of single combats, the Massilian fleet is defeated by Caesar's general Brutus.

(1) Summary:

Their siege having been unsuccessful, the Romans start operations at sea. After speedy preparations on both sides, the fleets open combat. The fights are heavy and various, ranging from massive missile attacks launched at a distance to heroic man-to-man combat. Due to the special nature of the battle, many soldiers die in unusual or strange ways. Finally, the Caesarean fleet appears to be winning. Thus, Caesar's general Brutus gains the first naval victory for the Caesarean party.

(2) Structure:

This last block in book 3 already started in 455, after Caesar had left for Spain. But since 455-508 was closely related to the last scenes of the preceding block on the land battle, and 509-762 deal with the naval battle, remarks on the block as a whole have been postponed until now; see on 455-508 (2).

The rest of the block may be analysed in six parts. (i) After military preparations (509-37), we see (ii) the first clashes rapidly developing into fierce fighting (538-82). These mainly general scenes are followed by (iii) a series of single combats, involving individual warriors (583-646). This in turn is followed by (iv) a group of mass scenes, in which we see forms of death by drowning, the further escalation of the fight into blind fury, the horrific effects of fire and the ultimate struggles of drowning soldiers (647-96). (v) A second group of single combats (696-751) is abruptly ended by (vi) a very short scene indicating the outcome of the battle. Thus we see a clear alternation of mass scenes and individual scenes, with a steady increase in pathos.

(3) Historical material:

In his version of the battles near Massilia, Lucan has greatly simplified and compressed the historical material, as I noted above on 298-455. As usual, we do not get a clear impression of the complete battle, the main action being largely replaced by extensive static images.

But perhaps most strikingly, the poet has fused elements of two distinct naval battles near Massilia into one large scene (cf. Caes. Civ.1,56-8 and 2,4-7; D.C. 41,21 and 41,25; Liv. Per.110). In the first of these battles which took place near the Stoechades islands (see on 516) the Massilians were aided by the Pompeyan general Domitius, but according to Caesar they were repelled into their harbour after intense fighting, having lost 9 ships (Caes. Civ.1,56-8). In the second battle, fought near Tauroentum, the Massilians and Domitius combined forces with another Pompeyan general, Nasidius, and again engaged in battle. This time they incurred heavy losses and Nasidius fled to Spain (Caes. Civ.2,4-7). On the historical naval battles see CLERC 1929,106-27; DAVIN 1952.

Lucan has combined elements of both battles, placing the single battle after the siege, thereby giving an entirely different weight to the battle and to the temporary Roman loss on land which is represented as a permanent defeat[1]. He has also left out everything that did not suit his purpose. Neither Domitius' nor Nasidius' help is mentioned, probably since it would have diminished the glory of Massilian resistance (cf. also on 298-455). Nasidius' unheroic retreat would even less suit Lucan's purpose. Neither does he mention the ferocious Albici nor the simple herdsmen in Domitius' troops (Caes. Civ.1,57). Though the eventual defeat is mentioned, it comes unexpectedly. Before line 752, there is no indication as to who is actually winning[2].

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1. In the accounts of Caesar and Dio the land operations continue even after the second battle; cf. on 298-455.

2. Caesar is, of course, equally one-sided. He says the Massilians took the initiative, stresses the disadvantages of his troops, and even points at the Massilians' valour in what may be seen as an attempt to explain his own strategic failures.

Considering these adaptations, Lucan's account of the events can not be considered historically reliable, though at times it gives this impression[1]. The material has been consciously reformed in a poetical way into a climax of the fighting near Massilia, and of book 3 as a whole It is intended to bring out once again the theme of the heroic resistance of the Massilians against the villainous Caesarean aggressors For Lucan's poetical transformations, see especially OPELT 1957, further METGER 1957,3-76 (but cf below on 509), FUHRMANN 1968,52-3, OLIVER 1972,326-8

(4) Literary material

Naval battles are not a common element in epic, and there are no direct examples in Homer or Vergil. The only extant epic text Lucan may have used as a model is Verg. A 8,671-713, in which the battle of Actium is represented in pictures on Aeneas' shield In addition to epic models, Lucan may have been inspired by texts like A Pers 249-597 Prop. 4,6, Sen Ag 421-578, or prose accounts like Hdt 8,83-96 (on the battle of Salamis) But the apparent lack of direct models has prompted many scholars to state that Lucan invented a new element here, for which he had to rely mainly on his own fantasy, cf e g OPELT 1957,443, BROUWERS 1982b,76.

However, this does not mean that Lucan's account is completely original First, there may have been similar descriptions in lost works, like the *Bellum Siculum* by Cornelius Severus or *Bellum Actiacum* by Rabirius[2], as SAINT-DENIS 1935,436 points out, also comparing Ov Pont 4,16,21-2 Probably, the works of Naevius and Ennius already contained descriptions of fighting at sea during the first Punic war In some places Lucan seems to echo the historical tradition of this war, in which the Romans first employed naval forces, including rather primitive, heavy polyremes, and finally reported victory, for the idea cf CONTE 1970,135-6 (=1988,29-30). Cf. especially Polybius' book 1 (Livy's account in book 17 has been lost): e g Plb 1,20, 22-3, 51, 59 and see further notes below on e g 547, 556, 762.

Moreover, the scene is firmly rooted in the epic tradition of battle scenes. For instance, it may be considered as a modernized counterpart of the *machè parapotamios* in Hom Il 21, as JUHNKE 1972,12 suggests, or of the cavalry battle in Verg A 11,597-647, as SYNDIKUS 1958,30-1wn7-8 argues For epic battle scenes in general, see e g RUTZ 1950,65-94, RAABE 1974,168-99, ESPOSITO 1987 Various elements in Lucan's composition may be explained in this context, such as the single and collective combats (cf lists with parallels in RAABE 1974,169-89), the catalogue-like series of single combats (cf BEYE 1964, KUHLMANN 1973,39), sometimes in the special form of a 'chain fight' (for which see on 696-751 (4)). The constant variation intended to keep up the reader's attention reminds one of Vergil (cf HEINZE 1915,194) whereas the great interest in anatomical details and wounds common to most post-classical poets dates back to Homer (cf. ADAMS 1980 and

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[1] Older scholars such as CLERC (cf also CLERC 1903) and DAVIN tended to regard Lucan as a reliable historical source Traces of this view remain For example, even BURCK/RUTZ 1979,172 prefers to speak of inaccuracies rather than deliberate adaptations

[2] It is a matter of discussion whether the extant fragments known as the *Carmen de bello Actiaco* come from this work, cf BENARIO 1983,1657wn12.

notes below, e.g. on 609); in this respect Lucan may have been particularly influenced by extensive scenes of violent fighting in Ovid, such as Ov. Met.5,8-209; 12,245-526. Similarly, Lucan's clear interest in movements suddenly broken off or 'frozen' (cf. KÖNIG 1957,116-21) is a feature already present in Ovid; cf. OPELT 1957,444wn1. On a simpler level, several of the names of the Lucanean warriors seem to have a Vergilian background, as HEITLAND 1887,CXIV has pointed out; cf. e.g. on 592; 636; 709.

But indeed Lucan seems to have introduced some innovations. In the type of battle he describes, warriors find glory in meeting death rather than inflicting it upon others; cf. RUTZ 1960; VÖGLER 1968,266-8. Accordingly, there is hardly any room for traditional *aristeiai*. Instead, his interest is directed to spectacular, bizarre forms of death (cf. 634 *varii miracula fati*). The steadily increasing pathos reinforces this decidedly un-Vergilian interest.

In the individual scenes, Lucan often seems to have invented new themes, though often echoes of literary models may be detected here as well. It is tempting to speculate about the immediate sources of Lucan's ideas. It does not seem unnatural to suppose that theatrical performances influenced his fantasy. Since 46 B.C. several *naumachiae* had been performed in or near Rome, one or possibly two of them during the reign of Nero; cf. Suet. Nero 12,1; D.C. 61,9; 62,15; further RE XVI,2,1970,37ff. For this suggestion see also OPELT 1957,443; NEWMAN 1986,211-2. For an example of possible influence of *naumachiae* cf. on 530. In general on the literary aspects of the scene, see METGER 1957,3-76 (cf. below on 509); OPELT 1957 and FUHRMANN 1968,52-7.

There is no parallel scene in the section on Rome's surrender to Caesar, which has already been compared with several parts of 298-762; cf. MITCHELL 1973,52[1]. But the scene is firmly related to other battle scenes in BC, especially 7,460-646, the main battle of Pharsalus. Battle scenes involving the sea occur in 2,610-736, 4,529-81; and 10,486-546. For Lucan's particular interest in the sea and in nautical matters, see SAINT-DENIS 1935,419-440[2].

Another clear link exists with 9,734-838, where soldiers of Cato struggle with snakes in the African desert. Here too, a series of short individual tableaux[3] makes up the scene (cf. also e.g. 2,119-30). But whereas in the naval battle the Massilians are finally defeated, Cato's soldiers manage to overcome the dangers; on the scenes in book 9 see e.g. AUMONT 1968b; KEBRIC 1976; VIARRE 1982 and LAUSBERG 1990. It is typical for Lucan that he rejects a similar scene when describing

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1. However, MITCHELL is so keen on forcing the structure of book 3 into his pattern of contrasts between the fall of Pompey and the rise of Caesar that he hardly pays any attention to 509-762 at all. In doing so, he is neglecting almost one third of the book's text and clearly one of its most artistic parts.

2. At the beginning on book 3, the sea played a major role as well; see 1-9; 40-50. Cf. further the importance of the sea as main theatre of action in books 5, 8 and the first part on 9.

3. For a comparison of real tableaux of pictorial art with the present text, see CROISILLE 1976,528-531.

the battle of Pharsalus in book 7 where it would have been more expected (7,552-6).

Protracted scenes of violence and atrocities are to the poet's taste; cf. also e.g. 2,64-233; 4,529-81; 746-87; 6,118-262; 7,786-846. They have often been extenuated by means of social or psychological explanations, or simply censured as showing decadence and lack of good taste. But instead of applying such moral and post-Romantic esthetic criteria[1], we may acknowledge Lucan's ingenuity and poetical talent even here. Excess of violence is simply one of the many forms of excess the poet uses to intensify the pathos and create contrasts with other elements in his work; cf. also FUHRMANN 1968,52.

(5) Imitations:

Among the later Roman epic poets only Silius has inserted a naval battle in his epic, a battle near Syracuse, Sil. 14,353-579. While closely following Lucan on many points in his descriptions (cf. MEYER 1924,37-51), Silius pursues fundamentally different aims here, cf. BROUWERS 1982b,76-8; BURCK 1984,31-44. Generally speaking, he returns to Vergilian standards.

In later ages, Lucan's scene did not inspire many poets either. I have only found two references to Spanish literature, to passages in the *Comedieta de Ponça* of Jñigo Lopez de Mendoça (15th cent.), and the *Rimas* of the Lucan translator Jauregui (17th cent.); cf. SCHLAYER 1928,39 and 72.

509-537 On both sides preparations are made for the naval battle.

(1) Summary:

The Caesareans prepare for battle at sea, using unfinished vessels. The Roman fleet is positioned near the Stoechades islands. On the Massilian side, young and old are deployed on all available ships, even those already scrapped. On a quiet, sunny morning both fleets start approaching each other. Among the various ships the Romans use, the huge ship of their general Brutus is the most conspicuous.

(2) Structure:

In this short scene, the account of the naval battle (509-762) is introduced after having been connected to the foregoing scenes on the siege. In its first part (509-20), both sides equip and crew their ships. The second part (521-37) shows how the fleets come closer, and provides some additional details on the impressive Roman fleet.

(3) Historical material:

From Caes. Civ.1,56-8; 2,4-7; and D.C. 41,21; 41,25 we get the clear impression that the Massilians took the initiative in both naval conflicts, had more ships at their disposal, and were more experienced in nautical matters. As on many other occasions, Lucan seems to have adapted the facts for his tale: he plays down all

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1. To mention a typical example: in his account of 'manierism' BURCK 1971 compares the violence of the naval battle with the post-war novel 'La pelle' by Curzio Malaparte.

Massilian resources and qualities except their courage and determination, and suggests that the Caesareans not only started the fight, but also possessed more, stronger and larger vessels; cf. also on 510.

(4) Literary material:

Though the scene seems to be rather technical, several elements reflect epic traditions. The sunrise is a common element to all epic poetry (cf. on 521). Elements like the description of the 'battlefield' and the ordering of the troops belong to the sphere of battle scenes, whereas Lucan's interest in ships and nautical affairs gives the scene a very special colour.

Scenes on military preparations at sea are rather exceptional in BC: cf. 4,417-47 (preparation of rafts by Caesareans near Salonae); further 169-297[1]. For military preparations in general, cf. the scenes adduced above on 375-398.

509 **spes - abit**: 'the defeated lost their hope of success on land', a concise but clear expression, in which the poet gives a deliberate distortion of the facts, as in the preceding lines; cf. on 498. First, as I have noted before, the siege did not end with the beginning of the naval battle, but was continued during and after the two historical naval battles; cf. e.g. on 509-762 (3). Second, the initiative for the naval battle was probably not just a Roman initiative, especially considering Massilia's famous nautical expertise, for which cf. RE XIV,2,2146-9. Finally, although the Caesareans had faced temporary setbacks, they could hardly be called *victi*[2] by now. Throughout the Massilia blocks in book 3, Lucan sides with the Massilians, sacrificing truth to effect whenever necessary.

profundo...maris: not to be taken together, as BOURGERY a.l. says and others seem to suggest. At sea (*profundo*) the Caesareans try their *fortunam maris*. EHLERS is the only one who clearly renders the nuance ('...vor der Küste ihr Glück im Seekrieg zu versuchen'). For *fortunam maris* OUDENDORP compares Justin. 2,11,19. *Profundum* and *mare* equally stand side by side in 651-2, as HOUSMAN notes.

510 **maris**: the reading of Z, generally preferred by modern editors (except GRIFFA) to the ablative *mari* found in the other MSS.

non...: the Caesareans' ships have not been properly finished off and lack the usual ornaments. From Caesar's own account we gain the impression that his ships were made in great haste or improvised (Caes. Civ.1,36,4-5; 1,58,3; 2,5,1). However, Lucan gives no such explanation, but merely conveys the image of rough, massive

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[1] Though Lucan is rather vague as to the exact nature of the Pompeyan forces gathering in 3,169-297, several lines indicate the inclusion of ships and naval forces· cf 183, 218, 228, further possibly 191-7 and 287.

[2] It is they who are meant with *victi*, as nearly all translators and scholars have agreed upon. Considering his normal reliability it is surprising that METGER 1957,11 goes astray here· by stating that the word refers to the Massilians, he spoils his analysis of the section 509-20 (p 11-15) In defence of METGER it may be said that lines 509-13 are rather vague.

structures which seem typical of a barbaric tribe rather than of civilized Romans; see also below on 512 and 513. For the negation antithesis *non... sed...* cf. on 49.

robore picto: some translators think that these words refer to the *tutela*. This is not impossible, since both the ship and the *tutela* could be made of wood. But painting in bright colours was used especially for decorative purposes on parts of a ship, as the bow; cf. CASSON 1971,211-2. Moreover, this *tutela* is said to be *fulgens*, a word not suggestive of paint (see below on *tutela*). Finally, it seems more natural to connect *robore picto* with *ornatas...carinas* than with *fulgens* (which would leave *ornatas* standing isolated). Considering these arguments, the words are more likely to refer to the ships.

511 **tutela**: a statue of the ship's guardian divinity, an essential feature of every Roman ship, placed on the stern; cf. 558; further e.g. Ov. Tr.1,10,1; Petr. 105,4; 108,13; Stat. Theb.10,186; Sil. 14,410. It could be gilded, as in Verg. A.10,171 *aurato fulgebat Apolline puppis* or made of ivory, as in Sen. Ep.76,13; cf. CASSON 1971,347wn13. This may explain Lucan's epithet *fulgens*. The ending of the line is imitated in V.Fl. 1,301 *fulgens tutela carina*.

512 **rudis - conseritur**: trees in their natural state are fastened together into something more primitive than the raft built in 4,417-26. By their formlessness and lack of decoration, these constructions recall the barbaric statues in the sacred grove of the Gauls (412-7). The periphrasis *qualis procumbit - arbor* seems based on Caesar's note that his ships were made from unseasoned wood (*ex umida materia* Caes. Civ.1,58,3), but may also contain a distant echo of the motif of felling trees, for which see on 440.

513 **stabilis - bellis**: 'a stable site for fighting at sea', a typical Lucanean paradox. By using the raft-like constructions, the Caesareans are in fact continuing the land war at sea, rather than starting a genuine naval battle. In a later stage this stability will prove to be disadvantageous for the Romans; see on 553. For the phrase cf. 6,60 *area belli*[1]; Ov. Fast.5,707 *apta area pugnae*; for the dativus finalis dependant on a substantive OBERMEIER 1886,43-4[2]; further LHS II,99.

514 **et iam - classis**: a Roman fleet comes down the Rhône. From Caes. Civ.1,36,4-5 we know that Caesar had ordered the construction of 12 warships at Arles. They were completed in no more than 30 days. According to RAMBAUD 1976,857 the fleet had been built between April 29th and May 30th of the year 49 B.C., and arrived near the Stoechades (see below) on June 2nd or 3rd.

turrigeram: 'bearing a tower', said of a ship, as in 4,226; Sil. 14,500; cf. also Verg. A.8,693. Towers on ships are attested to already in the Hellenistic period; cf. Plb. 16,3,12. They were used on low lying warships to provide height for missile launching machines. Often they were painted in distinctive colours, so as to facilitate strategic operations; cf. further CASSON 1971,122; VIERECK 1975,26;

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1. AHL 1976,87 has detected influence of gladiatorial shows in 6,60 a.o.. This seems exaggerated, but cf. my remark on *naumachiae*, above on 509-762 (4).

2. Not all of OBERMEIER's examples belong to this class; only 6,397; 801; and 7,249 are clear parallels.

REDDÉ 1986,95-8. In the present text, the mention of the tower reinforces the link established in 513 between the naval battle and the preceding siege; cf. also Plin. Nat.32,1; for towers in the siege see on 398.

Bruti: D. Iunius Brutus Albinus, Caesar's general who was left in command of the fleet; cf. RE Sup.V,369,30ff; and see also on 761. In book 3, he is the only general who is mentioned by name. He does not occur in Roman poetry apart from BC.

comitata: to be taken with the subject *classis*, which is postponed until the end of the following line, perhaps to convey the image of the slowness of the vessels.

515 **in fluctus**: that is, into the sea; cf OLD s.v. *fluctus* 1b. The words should not be connected with *Rhodani*. *Rhodani cum gurgite* points to the movement downstream on the Rhône; cf. on 514.

516 **Stoechados arva**: a periphrasis for the Stoechades, a group of islands commonly identified as the 'Iles d'Hyères', east of Toulon. However, the use of the name has been extended to all islands dependant on Massilia; cf. e.g. CLEBERT 1970,117; DIRKZWAGER 1975,76-80; RIVET 1988,223-4. Lucan's unusual singular *Stoechas* might point to one specific island[1], but it seems more likely that *Stoechados arva* is a rather vague designation of place, especially since the poet has fused the two battles fought at different locations, and uses the poetical phrase *arva tenere*, for which cf. Verg. A.2,209, 6,477; 6,744, 10,741; see further the use of *tenere* above in 182. Used slightly paradoxically in connection with ships, *arva tenere* reflects Lucan's special interest in the border between land and sea; cf. on 60.

nec non et: the combination also occurs in 7,56 and 10,486. For *nec non* see further Schmidt on 10,133; LHS II,778-9.

Graia iuventus: for the ending cf. 355.

517 **suum fatis - robur**: Lucan presents the Massilians' preparations as a desperate attempt to resist brutal force with courage and determination. In fact, Massilia with its long seafaring tradition was better equipped for a naval war than Caesar, who had to improvise some ships almost on the spot. For Massilia's resources in this sphere, cf. Caes. Civ.1,56, 2,4. Cf. also on 509.

518 **grandaevos - ephebis**: old men and youths belong to the groups traditionally not taking part in combat, but significantly they are armed here. This effectively turns Lucan's battle into a life-and-death struggle[2], of which the outcome is already certain at the start.

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[1] In Caesar, the first naval battle is said to take place near an island *quae est contra Massiliam* (Caes. Civ.1,56,4), usually identified as Ratonneau. BOURGERY thinks that Lucan's phrase designates Stoechade or the Petits Stoechades facing Marseille.

[2] Lucan seems to echo Caes. Civ.2,5,5, in which some noble young men and the most important men of every age are said to have gone on board the ships. But Caesar interprets the fact in a different way. In addition, he explicitly mentions old men and youths remaining behind in the city during the second naval battle, along with women and children (Civ.2,5,3). In his view, the Massilians have plenty of troops to crew the ships (Civ.2,4,1).

Grandaevos is a solemn, poetical word, also used in 7,371; further e.g. Verg. G.4,392; Aen.1,121. With *senes* it is used in Sen. Ag.378; Oed.838; Sil. 4,29; Tac. Hist.3,33. On the other hand, *ephebus*, a Graecism for *puer* or *iuvenis*, occurs only rarely in poetry after the early Republican period. Before Lucan cf. only Catul. 63,63; Hor. Ep.2,1,171; Ov. Ars 1,147; Sen. Her.F.853. In BC it is also used in 6,562.

519 **stabat**: here in the nautical sense of 'lying at anchor', as in 8,592; cf. SAINT-DENIS 1935b,104-5; OLD s.v. 8.

520 **emeritas...alnos**: a second element emphasizing the life-and-death struggle of the Massilians: they patch up scrapped ships taken from their dockyards. This is confirmed by Caes. Civ.2,4,1, who additionally mentions the use of fishing boats. *Emeritus* is often used of things, cf. e.g. Ov. Fast.1,665; Plin. Nat.17,206; Mart. 10,85,5 (of a ship). With *navalibus* we must think *de*, *e* or *a*, as in Verg. A.4,593. For *navalia* cf. on 182; for *alnus* on 441.

521 **ut matutinos...**: the second part of the scene 509-37 opens with a poetical description of sunrise, a traditional element in epic poetry. This case (like e.g. 7,1-6) clearly shows how its function has shifted from merely denoting time to creating atmosphere and tension in preparation for events to come. Cf. already Verg. A.3,521; 588-9; 4,6-7; 4,584-5 a.o.; cf. REEKER 1971,77n177; for sunrise in combination with winds subsiding see Verg. A.7,25-8. Lucan may also have been influenced by A. Pers.386-98. His picture is powerful: though the rays of the sun are said to be refracted on the surface of the water (cf. KÖNIG 1957,182-3, comparing the light effect in Verg. A.8,22-5), there is no mention of colour[1]; and though the sea and the air are calm, there is no peace and harmony. Nature is full of grim, silent tension, a calm before the storm perhaps comparable to 5,424-55. On sunrise and sundown in epic see BARDON 1946; further on 40 *pronus in undas*; in addition see HÜBNER 1976.

spargens: as KÖNIG 1957,183wn1 notices, the word is often used with *lumine* and an object in the accusative in Vergil's sunrises ; e.g. A.4,584; 9,459; 12,113. Here, more dynamically, the light itself has become the object.

aequora: more than 'sea' as DUFF renders it. Considering the following description the word has retained its original sense of 'level surface' here: the sea is pictured as calm and flat.

522 **nubibus aether**: for the ending see Lucr. 6,268; Ov. Met.13,582.

523 **posito Borea**: 'as the north wind had dropped'. This medium sense of *ponere* also occurs in Verg. A.7,27; 10,103; Ov. Ep.7,49. For *Boreas* see on 69.

pacem - Austris: for the ending cf. 68 *cessantibus Austris*; for *Auster* see on 1.

524 **servatum bello iacuit**: 'lay calm and ready for warfare' (HASKINS). The tension is elevated by the ominous calm at sea. The motif will be used again at great length in 5,424-55, where Caesar's ships can no longer sail because of a complete calm.

For *servare* in the present sense cf. also LUNDQVIST 1907,161; OLD s.v. 8. *Iacere* is used of water as in 5,434 and 443; (cf. 4,119 and 311); further e.g. Ov.

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[1]. On the other hand, in the sunrise in 2,719-21, colours form an important element in Lucan's description; on this passage see PATERNI 1988.

Met.11,747; Man. 1,249; Sen. Ag.449; Tro.199; Nat. 2,6,4; V.Fl. 3,732; Juv. 12,62. The MSS PUV read *iacuit bello* instead of *bello iacuit*, which is the commonly accepted word order.

omni: to be taken with *statione*. Most translators neglect the word, except EHLERS and CANALI.

525 **suam**: ZMUC read *sua*, probably an error due to attraction by *statione*.

paribusque lacertis: on both sides the rowing starts. Though warships were equipped with sails, these were not used during the fighting; cf. CASSON 1971,235-6. For *lacerti* referring to rowing cf. Verg. A.5,141 *adductis spumant freta versa lacertis*; Sil. 14,358. *Par* can be used to describe opponents in a battle or contest; cf. OLD s.v.11-12.

526 **Graio remige**: for the synecdoche in *remige* cf. 530; 673; 754; 9,149; further Verg. A. 4,588; 5,116; Ov. Met.6,445, a.o.. For *Graius* indicating the Massilians, see on 302.

527 **tollitur**: in the context of rowing, as in Verg. A.10,295; V.Fl. 1,340.

impulsae: in a nautical context, the direct object of *impellere* can be a ship (e.g. Caes. Civ.3,40,2; Verg. A.5,120; Sil. 1,568); or the sea itself (e.g. Verg. G.1,254; Ov. Met.3,657) or even *remos* (cf. Verg. A.4,594); see SAINT-DENIS 1935b,70. For the trembling of the ship the scholiasts already compare Verg. A.5,198; cf. further V.Fl. 2,77-8.

tonsis: *tonsa* is an archaic word used in epic as a synonym for 'oar', cf. 539; 5,448; further e.g. Enn. Ann.218 Sk (with Skutsch's note); Lucr. 2,554; Verg. A.7,28; 10,299; V.Fl. 1,369; Sil. 6,363. In ZM we find a variant reading *contis* already mentioned in a scholium in a 12th.century MS; cf. CAVAJONI 1979,197.

528 **crebraque - puppes**: if we translate 'and frequent strokes tugged at the tall ships', the phrase adds nothing new to 526-7, 'tall' functioning merely as a traditional epithet for ships. Probably the upward movement of the ship[1] due to the impulse of the oars is meant here; cf. Sil. 14,379 with Spaltenstein's note. In that case *sublimes* would be proleptical: 'so that they rose up'; as in EHLERS' 'und die Rümpfe bäumten sich, wenn Schlag um Schlag sie vorwärts riss'[2].

529 **cornua...**: 529-34 briefly picture the general arrangement of the Roman fleet: the larger warships, like triremes and quadriremes, form the wings of the fleet (529-32), which is crescent-shaped (533). In the centre, smaller vessels are positioned (533-4).

The syntax of 529-32 is extremely difficult: we should construct as follows: *cornua Romanae classis triremes et... cinxere*, with *cornua* as object of *cinxere*, and *multiplices rates* as apposition to the threefold subject (*triremes*; *quasque...commovet*; *et plures... pinus*). *Cornua cingere* seems a bold expression meaning 'form the wings, thereby encircling the centre'; cf. HOUSMAN a.l.; METGER 1957,17wn1-2, comparing

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1. *Puppis* should be taken as pars pro toto for 'ship', as often in BC, and not in its original sense 'stern'. Ancient ships moved with their stern in front only in special manoevres such as in 545 and 659; cf. also VIERECK 1975,24.

2. It would even be possible to interpret *convellere* as 'to heave up', but that sense is very rare; cf. OLD s.v.2d; TLL IV,818,64ff. The present text is included by TLL IV,819,13f as an example of the sense *quassare*, which is obviously wrong.

Caes. Civ.1,83,2 and Liv. 23,29,3 for this use of *cingere*. The complex syntax and word order seem deliberate here: they add to the impressive image of the Caesarean fleet resulting from the various warships mentioned. Significantly, we hear nothing now about the arrangement of the Massilian fleet: the Caesareans are clearly to be seen as the aggressors.

triremes: the *triremis* (Gr. *trièrès*) was one of the dominant types of warships throughout antiquity. Surprisingly, no good ancient picture of the vessel is extant. Though it is not certain to what the element of 'three' in the name of the ship corresponds, it is now generally accepted that the trireme had three superimposed banks of oarsmen; cf. CASSON 1971,77-80; VIERECK 1975,39-41; WARRY 1980,94; REDDÉ 1986,110-2; for a modern reconstruction of the ship see MORRISON/COATES 1986 and WELSH 1988. A more complex problem will be discussed below on 530.

530 **quasque - commovet**: 'and those driven by ranks of rowers rising four times in layers above each other' (HASKINS). Lucan's words seem to allude to four layers of rowers, but this causes a serious problem. With quadriremes and other, larger polyremes there is a similar difficulty to that of the triremes: the rowing arrangement on these vessels is not known for certain. However, most scholars agree that for technical reasons no Greek or Roman ship could have had more than three superimposed layers of oarsmen. We may reasonably assume that a combination of superimposed banks and several oarsmen to an oar was used. Thus a quadrireme might have three levels of oars (two handled by one oarsman, one by two), two (each oar handled by two men) or even one (handled by four men); cf. CASSON 1971,97-116; VIERECK 1975,46 and 56; WARRY 1980, 94; 98-9; ROUGÉ 1981,93-5; further OLD s.v. *quadriremis* '...probably with four rowers to every "room"'[1]. Similar explanations may be given for larger ships, like the quiqueremis or the hexeris.

Confronted with this theory, Lucan might be said to be simply 'wrong' here. This is actually stated in RE Suppl.V,922,49ff. However, this has provoked reactions in defence of Lucan. It has been suggested by REDDÉ 1980 (repeated in REDDÉ 1986,55-9) that the present text is a most important piece of evidence against the commonly accepted theory. In his view Lucan is talking of ships with four and more superimposed layers of oars. This same idea is implicit in most translations of the passage, which seem to have overlooked the problem here. But REDDÉ has fallen into a trap, questioning archeological theories by means of BC, which is a rhetorical poem rather than a handbook of maritime technology.

Lucan's text must be explained in a different way. In lines 530-2 and 535-7 Lucan gives rather vague and poetical periphrases for various polyremes. Significantly, those larger than the triremes are not even mentioned by name. On the whole,

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1. Other suggestions have been made too. For instance, VIERECK 1975,30 suggests that the number in the name of each ship is relative to its strategic value. Thus a quinquereme would have three levels of oarsmen, while being a 'fifth class' ship.

Lucan's descriptions may be reconciled with the commonly accepted theory on these ships, see notes below.

But if we suppose that he actually describes ships with more than three levels of oars, he may also be referring to types of ships of which we know nothing at all. It seems possible that he was influenced by *naumachiae* here (cf. on 509-762 (4)) Perhaps extraordinary vessels with more than three layers of oarsmen were constructed for these shows

However, the main aim of the poet is not to give an accurate account of maritime realia, but to enhance the pathos in his text. As with so many other details concerning geography, history, astronomy and other areas, he may have deliberately adapted his material to suit his rhetorical purpose. We probably should not ask whether his words are 'wrong' or 'right', but how they function within their context

Thus, *quater - ordo* may be taken as a reference to four oarsmen (cf. *remige*), who do not necessarily sit in a strictly vertical line and may be handling one large oar (as even REDDÉ 1980,1035, and 1986,56-7 notes) or two or three oars, or even four oars arranged in two adjacent pairs in one 'room' But other explanations of Lucan's words are equally possible. In particular, the poet seems to have adapted his description both to suggest the enormous dimensions of Caesar's ships, and to surpass Verg. A.5,120 *terno consurgunt ordine remi* who refers to just three layers of oars[1].

531 **plures - pinus**: '(ships) that plunge more oars into the deep'. This place is considered as the only instance of *pinus* in the metonymical sense 'oar'; cf. HOUSMAN a.l, OLD s.v 2c. We meet the same problem as in 530. If the poet refers to 'more than four oars'[2], he may well mean regular polyremes with units of e.g. two and three oars (5), or twice three oars (6), twice two and once three oars (7), etcetera. But he may also be deliberately exaggerating the image of the Caesarean fleet, cf. above on 530. For the ending cf. Stat. Silv 2,6,28, Claud. 1,246.

532 **multiplices**: either 'various' or 'numerous' or 'complex'. All three senses suit the context here, but the first seems best. *Multiplices rates* is an apposition to the threefold subject of the period, as mentioned above on 529 *cornua* .. For *cingere* cf. ibid..

robur: the word is sometimes used for the strongest part of an army or task-force, cf. 7,545, OLD s.v.8.

533 **lunata classe recedunt**. the ships are lined up in the shape of a half moon, with the heavy ships at the wings, and the lighter ones in second line in the centre. The naval formation is well known; cf. Prop. 4,6,25; Sil. 14,369-70; and especially Veget 4,45[3]. For Lucan's general interest in the moon, see also on 42.

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[1] For *remi* and *remex* used indiscriminately, cf Flor Epit 2,21,5-6, Veget Mil 4,37.

[2] This is not necessarily the case, since the total number of oars on the ship may be meant here However, considering the context this is less likely

[3] For a similar strategy used on land see Fron Str 2,3,4

534 **ordine - Liburnae**: contrary to the other types of warships the liburnian is not of Greek origin. It was a fast galley developed by the Liburnian pirates living on the Dalmatian coast (they are mentioned themselves in 4,530; cf. 8,38). The vessel was adopted by the Romans[1] and widely used in their fleets during the principate; cf. CASSON 1971,141-2; ROUGÉ 1981,124-5; REDDÉ 1986,104-10.

It is generally agreed upon that the liburnian was constructed with two layers of oars, each oar being handled by one oarsman. Lucan gives a poetical periphrasis of this, personalising the liburnians as 'content to have risen with two layers'. He may be referring to the oarsmen rather than the oars, as possibly in 530, although both are certainly 'double' in the case of the liburnian[2].

535 **celsior at cunctis...**: the picture of the Roman warships culminates in the huge vessel of its commander Brutus. The ship has already been mentioned as *turrigera* in 514; in 558-66 it will start the actual fighting.

praetoria puppis: 'an admiral's flagship', according to OLD s.v. *praetorius* 1c, comparing Liv. 26,39,18; Fron. Str 1,1,2, Flor. Epit.1,23,7. Whereas Lucan gives several details about the ship, Caesar merely says that Brutus' ship could be easily identified by its *insigne*, Caes. Civ 2,6,4. Lucan's description has influenced Sil. 14,384-91.

536 **verberibus senis**: 'with sixfold strokes'. Again, the problem of ancient polyremes emerges. As in the case of the quadrireme, Lucan does not mention a name for the ship, but he is probably referring to the *hexeris*[3], for which cf. Liv. 29,9,8; 37,23,5; V Max 1,8. ext.11 Analogous to what has been said about the quadrireme (above, 530), this text cannot be taken as proof for the theory that this ship had six superimposed banks (REDDÉ 1980,1035 and REDDÉ 1986,57). Lucan's text mentions six strokes in the water, that is, six oars, but this may refer to units of six oars arranged in two adjacent groups of three[4].

But the description of Brutus' huge ship seems to have been the result mainly of the poet's imagination. It clearly functions as a climax in the pathos of the section 529-537 (see on 529), and may be far removed from maritime reality. For the phrase cf. Sil. 14,487-8 *senis pulsibus*.

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[1] Its earliest recorded deployment was in the battle of Naulochus in 36 B C, cf App BC 5,111 However, they were probably used already long before, so we do not have to consider the present text an anachronism

[2] After giving some parallels for the use of *crescere* HASKINS a l surprisingly renders 'to have reached such a size as to have one bank of oars', which is obviously not correct

[3] Whereas the other ships have Latinized names like *liburna*, *triremis quadriremis* and *quinqueremis*, the 'six' appears to have been known only by its Greek name, cf VIERECK 1975,30-1, REDDÉ 1980,1025n3, REDDÉ 1986,112-3

[4] Cf the periphrasis in Sil 14,574 *bis ternis ordinibus* However, *bis ternis* may be simply a variation for *senis*

agitur: for *agere* used to describe propelling ships by means of oars, see Verg. A.5,116; Ov. Ep.12,7. It may also be used to refer to sailing, as in Lucr. 4,390; Sil. 7,242.

profundo: the passive *invehi* can govern a dative, as in Liv. 23,47,8; Tac. Ger.40,2. The active form as used here is uncommon; cf. OLD s.v. *inveho* 4.

537 **et summis - remis**: the translation 'reaches for the water far below with its topmost tier' (DUFF) seems rather awkard: surely *all* oars are reaching for the water. Only if we put all stress on *longe*, this interpretation makes sense, the oars of the topmost layers being necessarily longer than the others; thus e.g. HOUSMAN; EHLERS; LUCK; WIDDOWS. In any case, the topmost layer is not the sixth but probably the third; cf. discussion above on 530. Less likely, though not impossible is '...with the end of its blades' (cf. BOURGERY; CANALI).

Perhaps we may simply render: '...with its very high oars', with *summis* comparing not the various layers of oars to each other, but the ship and its features as a whole to the surrounding ships (cf. 535 *celsior - cunctis*)[1].

aequora remis: for the ending cf. Verg. A.3,668; Ov. Ep.2,87; 3,65; Sil. 14,538. The whole line is quoted by Serv. on Verg. A.10,207 (reading *ferit* for *petit*).

538-82 The fleets draw up close to each other. After some initial manoeuvres, the first close combats take place, resulting in many casualties.

(1) Summary:

The fleets are moved within each other's range. Some initial naval manoeuvres take place, but these do not have any effect. The first close combats do not occur until they are provoked by a move of Brutus' flagship. The fighting rapidly becomes intense and causes many casualties.

(2) Structure:

Now that preparations have been made, this second scene of 509-762 describes the initial phases of the battle. It may be divided in four sections: First, (i) the fleets approach each other (538-42); then, (ii) three naval manoeuvres are carried out, ramming (542-5); shooting missiles (545-6); and encircling (547-57), but these have no effect. (iii) After Brutus takes measures to start the fighting (558-6) finally, (iv) close combats and killing begin (567-82).

(3) Historical material:

Lucan's version is pro-Massilian as usual, making the Caesareans responsable for the encircling and the start of the fighting (see on 547 and 558). With the exception of a few other items, such as the different nature of the ships of Massilians and Caesareans (see on 553; 556), his version seems to have little relation with historical sources on the civil war; in general, see on 509-762 (3).

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1. Following this line of thought, we might regard this as another example of Lucan's technique of self-explanation by means of paraphrase; for which see on 232. The height of the ship would be illustrated by its relatively highly fitted oars.

(4) Literary material:
Though the beginning of the scene suggests that the battle will start in traditional epic fashion (see on 538), it is actually postponed until the fourth part (567-82), where attention is immediately focused on unusual and unexpected forms of death.

The tension which has been built up in the preceding section (509-37) is therefore not immediately resolved. The rather abstract naval manoeuvres in (2) and the concrete action in (3) function as retarding elements which create the impression of disquiet and continuing tension.

As a whole the section belongs to the scenes of collective fighting. It is interrupted only by the short intervention of Brutus, which thus stands out even more clearly. Somewhat surprisingly, the poet pays relatively little attention to the difference between the contesting parties. In the section on naval operations, he does not specify them in any way before 553. The ships damaged due to Brutus' action are likely to be Massilian, but again it is not made clear to which side the victims falling in 567-82 belong. Attention seems to be shifted from the contrast of the parties (so dominant in 298-508) to the highly pathetic and surprising 'special effects', the various ways in which marines get killed; see further on 509-762 (4).

As often, some technical terms are employed (cf. notes on e.g. 545; 547; 548), but taken as a whole the descriptions are either abstract or provide poetical detail (as in 549-52). The scene is clearly not intended to give a faithful or technical account of the events, but to maintain the atmosphere of tension in the scene and prepare for the even more pathetic individual combats to come after 583.

The scene contains many elements founded in or alluding to epic conventions; cf. various notes below, e.g. on 538; 540; 542; 543, a.o.. Especially in 567-82 they appear much more frequently than usual; for a complex example see e.g. on 572. In addition, Aeschylus' *Persae* seems to have been a model in some places; cf. 540; 542; 547; 566). For the tradition of the First Punic War as reflected in Plb. 1, see on 509-762 (4).

The section on naval manoeuvres closely matches the initial phases of the land battle described in 455-92 (see on 455-508 (2)). Here too, there is a succession of three operations. They are equally described in such a fragmentary and abstract manner that we can hardly gain a good impression of what actually happens. Finally, these naval operations are no more effective than those performed during the siege, and lead up to a climax which does bring about some success (cf. 497-508 and 558-66).

The fierce fighting scene 567-82 is the first of a long series of scenes full of death and destruction; cf. further on 509-762 (2).

538 **ut tantum...**: both fleets come into close proximity of each other. Lucan adopts the epic topos of the beginning of battle in an unusual maritime context. In this he may have been particularly inspired by Verg. A.5,137-50, describing, perhaps significantly, not the start of a real fight, but of a boat race. Although the present scene appears to develop in a traditional, epic manner, the fighting itself is postponed until much later; cf. on 538-82 (4); further e.g. on 540.

utraque - tonsis: '(so much...) as either fleet could cover by throwing out its oars just once'. A creative variation for the conventional idea of parties being 'within range of a missile', as in Verg. A.11,608-9; Ov. Met.4,709-10 (cf. also Bömer's note a.l.); V.Fl. 8,303 (at sea); Stat. Theb.5,361-2; 6,354; Sil. 4,101-2[1]. For *excutere* HASKINS and OLD s.v. 7 compare Ov. Met.5,596 *excussaque bracchia iacto* (of a swimmer), but the verb is also often used for throwing missiles, which seems relevant here. For *tonsa* see on 527.

539 **posset**: the reading of MYGPEJ preferred by all modern editors to *possit* of ZABRQUVW; cf. GOTOFF 1971,50.

540 **innumerae - tubae**: normally, the shouts and battle cries come only after the trumpet has sounded; cf. e.g. 7,475-8; Verg. A.5,139-41; 9,503-4. Here, they do not only precede the official signal, as in A. Pers.386-95, but even drown it. It cannot be heard any more than the sound of the oars. Therefore it does not break the tension as it would normally do. In a different context, the trumpet is drowned out by human voices in 6,165-6, where Scaeva's words rouse a greater fury than a trumpet would do. For the combination *innumerae voces* cf. Stat. Theb.7,111; 10,147; Silv.1,6,81; Claud. 15,485. For the ending *aethera voces* cf. Verg. A.8,70; V.Fl. 2,241; Rut.Nam. 1,203.

542 **tubae**: the most popular type of horn. It was made of bronze, and had a straight tube, contrary to the *lituus*, *bucina* and *cornu*. It was already used in 2,690 in a maritime context, as in Sil. 14,373.

tum...: lines 542-57 describe three naval operations carried out by the ships. Here the crews start to row arduously. It is not immediately clear why they are doing so, but considering 544-5 it must be the first move in the manoeuvre of ramming. Significantly, no distinction is made between Massilians and Romans; cf. on 538-82. On naval manoeuvres in BC, cf. SAINT-DENIS 1935,425-35; for ramming cf. A. Pers.408-11 and CASSON 1968,100-1.

caerula verrunt: 'sweep the blue waters of the sea' a conventional phrase; cf. Catul. 64,7; Verg. A.3,208; 4,583 (cf. also Verg. A.8,671-4). The underlying model is Enn. Ann.377-8 Sk *verrunt extemplo placidum mare: marmore flavo / caeruleum spumat sale conferta rate pulsum*. As PATERNI 1987,106-7 has noticed, the traditional contrast of white foam and blue water has been avoided by Lucan, who does not favour bright colours (cf. on 98; further e.g. 238; 503). The colour blue occurs only here and in 2,220 *caeruleum aequor*, and seems reduced to a mere formulaic element. For *caerula* used to describe the sea cf. also TLL III,107,27ff.

543 **atque**: explicative, since the two notions of 543 merely illustrate and explain the foregoing *caerula verrunt*.

in transtra cadunt: after bending forward to dip the blades[2], the oarsmen fall back on their benches while pulling the oars. *Transtra* are 'rowers' benches', as in 731; 8,671; 10,495; cf. SAINT-DENIS 1935b,117; CASSON 1971,220. The phrase as

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1. For the idea cf. already Hom. Il.15,358-9; 16,589; 21,251 a.o..

2. For this movement cf. Verg. A.5,189 *insurgite remis*. Serv. a.l. quotes Lucan's line.

a whole is suggestive of arduous rowing and should not be taken too literal[1]. In employing it, the poet may be alluding to the much less violent movement of *considere transtris* as expressed by Verg. A.3,289; 4,573 and 5,136.

remis pectora pulsant: the thought is repeated in an even more visual description: the men pull the oars so strongly that they beat their chests. Of course, this is poetical exaggeration once more. The periphrasis for rowing is conventional; cf. Enn. Ann.218 Sk *poste recumbite vestraque pectora pellite tonsis* and 219 Sk *...exim referunt ad pectora tonsas*[2]; cf. further Verg. A.5,141; 8,689-90; Ov. Met.11,461-2; Sen. Ag.437-8; V.Fl. 1,369; Stat. Theb.5,375; Sil. 11,489. For *pectora pulsant* as verse ending cf. 4,182; 7,128; 608; Ov. Met.12,234.

544 **rostris - rostra**: a poetic manner of describing a collision between ships. For the phrase cf. 1,6-7 *infestisque obvia signis / signa....pila minantia pilis* which is an echo of Enn. Ann.582 Sk., a fragment preserved by the Comm.Bern. a.l.; further e.g. 4,783; Enn. Ann.584 Sk.; Verg. A.11,615; Ov. Met.14,301.

The *rostrum* is the beak of a Roman ship, its most powerful weapon, used for ramming; cf. CASSON 1971,85; VIERECK 1975,22-3 (with illustration); REDDÉ 1986,84-90. It was reinforced with iron or bronze. This explains the sound expressed in *crepuere*, for which see 657; further 9,288 *sonus increpat aeris*.

545 **puppem**: this form is found in PV and Prisc. GLK II,330,2f, specifically quoting it as an example of the accusative on *-em*. Other MSS (as well as Prisc. GLK III,53,19f have the more regular *puppim*. Cf. HOUSMAN a.l..

in puppem rediere: 'backed astern'. After hitting their adversaries, the ships withdraw, thereby completing the manoeuvre of ramming, as in 659. Since the *rostra* are said to have hit each other, the operations remain without effect here. For the phrase cf. SAINT-DENIS 1935b,95-6 who compares V.Fl. 5,211 *in proram rediit* (of a turning movement). Following the Comm.Bern. a.l. EHLERS interprets *in puppem* differently, rendering 'als die Schiffe eine Bootslänge zurückgingen'. But the phrase indicates the direction of the movement rather than the distance. For *in* with accusative cf. on 112.

tela: after the attempts at ramming, in a second phase, described only briefly, missiles are launched. This is done either by hand, as in 567, or by means of *tormenta* as in 716.

546 **aera - pontum**: a poetical description of a mass of arrows. For covering the air by missiles cf. 7,519 *ferro subtexitur aether*; Verg. A.11,611 *caelumque obtexitur umbra* (sc. of *tela*); 12,578 *obumbrant aethera telis*; Sen. Epigr.52,3 *caelum texere sagittae*;

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[1]. CASSON 1971,104 regards Lucan's verse as a reference to a particular rowing technique in ships with multiple-rower sweep. However, as a poetical periphrasis for rowing, the text may apply to any sort of ship.

[2]. CONTE 1970,135-6 (=CONTE 1988,27-9) has argued that the present text is a case of 'flagrante imitazione enniana in Lucano'. This seems overstated and is rightly rejected by Skutsch on Enn. Ann.218 Sk. However, Skutsch becomes too cautious when he suggests that the parallel is merely due to coincidence. Lucan's expression is surely not everyday Latin. It must be understood within the Roman epic tradition starting with Ennius.

Sil. 4,550-1 a.o.[1]. In *cadentia* we see the conventional comparison of weapons to clouds, snow, hail or rain, as in 2,262; 4,776; 6,134; further e.g. Hom. Il.12,156; Enn. Ann.266 Sk.; 391 Sk.; Verg. A.12,283-4; Ov. Met.5,158; see also HÄUSSLER 1978,165-7 and above on 482. The image of missiles covering the surface of the sea is a point Lucan seems to have added here (cf. further on 566).

vacuumque: the missiles fall into the sea where there are no ships, and therefore have no effect.

547 **iam diductis - proris**: 'now they deploy their wings by spacing out the ships', a description of preparations for the third naval manoeuvre in the present passage, that of encircling. At first, it is not made clear which party is actually attempting it. It is only from 553-7 that we learn that it is the Caesarean side. By contrast, the Massilians are the ones who try to encircle the Romans according to Caes. Civ.1,58,1. In addition, Caesar mentions *diducere navibus* in Caes. Civ.2,6,2 as a move made by the Romans, but not as a preliminary step to encircling as it is here. Lucan seems to have combined the ideas and ascribed them to the Caesareans; cf. also METGER 1957,21-2. For the idea of encircling cf. also A. Pers.417-8 (by the Greeks); Plb. 1,23,8-9 (by the Cathaginians).

Both *diducere (proras)* and *extendere cornua* are military technical terms whose use has been broadened to include the sea; cf. SAINT-DENIS 1935b,51 and 61; TLL V,I,1016,76ff and V,II,1971,51ff. For *extendere cornua* in a maritime context cf. already Liv. 36,44,1. Several MSS read *deductis* (PVC) and *rostris* (ZMGC), but these variants for *diductis* and *proris* are generally rejected. *Prora* is used as pars pro toto for 'ship'.

548 **diversae - receptae**: 'and the ships of the enemy were admitted after the fleet had been extended'. *Laxata classe* is another military expression applied to the sea; cf. SAINT-DENIS 1935b,78; TLL VII,1071,83ff. It further explains 547, while the rest of the line describes the actual encircling.

549 **aestus**: considering the nature of the image (see below), the sense 'rough sea' (cf. OLD s.v.7) seems the best here.

ut quotiens...: lines 549-52 illustrate the turbulence and inner conflict of the water moved by the oars on both sides. It is compared to the turbulence due to winds, causing the waves at the surface to move in the opposite direction to the deeper levels of the water.

Strictly speaking, the comparison is not accurate: the turbulence on the horizontal level of the water caused by the oars is compared to turbulence on the vertical level caused by a conflict of wind and water. Moreover, in the present situation ships are not likely to move in opposite directions at all: they are more likely approaching or pursuing each other[2]. However, we must not take the text too literally: it is a poetic

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[1]. HASKINS also compares Ar. V.1084, which may be an echo of Hdt. 7,226. The image of 'covering the sky' was used in many contexts; cf. e.g. 7,834-5 (birds); Lucr. 5,466 (clouds); Verg. A.3,582 (smoke); Ov. Met.14,368.

[2]. Only if ships move away or pass along each other, can turbulences as described in 552 occur.

picture of a dynamic, agitated sea; cf. METGER 1957,22-3. The conflicting streams of the water may be seen as representing the conflicting parties; for a similar transposition of civil war to the scale of nature, see on 60 *qua mare....*

The main element in the comparison belongs to the same sphere as the element to which it is compared; see on 41 *tantum....* Comparisons involving the sea are particularly frequent in BC; cf. e.g. 1,100-3; 260; 498-503; 2,189-90; 665-8; 672-7; 715-9; 4,134-6 a.o.; for a full list and analysis cf. SAINT-DENIS 1935,421-5. For the conflict of wind and sea see especially 2,454-60 (with Van Campen's notes) and 9,333-4; further e.g. Ov. Met.8,470-2; Sen. Med.940-3; Ag.138-40; 488-9. On the relation of the present text to full scale storm scenes, see MORFORD 1967,52[1].

Zephyris Eurisque: the west and southeast winds. Only shortly before the *Boreas* and *Auster* were named (523). All four quarters of the sky have thus been alluded to in the present passage, emphasizing once again the world wide dimensions of the present conflict. For *Zephyrus* cf. 1,407; 2,676 (*Eurum Zephyrumque*); 4,72; a.o..; for *Eurus* see on 232.

Eurisque repugnat: the MSS MZY read *Eurusque*, while GJ have *Eurisve*. The right reading *Eurisque* is found in Z^2ABR and the other MSS; cf. GOTOFF 1971,117. Serv. on Verg. A.5,2 quoting 549 and half of 550 reads *furiisque*. Instead of *repugnat* PV have the incorrect *repugnant*.

550 **huc - mare**: this is one of the rare verses with a bucolic dihaeresis; SHACKLETON BAILEY's index (p.287) mentions as other examples in book 3 only lines 90 (a rather weak case) and 633. Cf. also on 552.

fluctus: the waves on the surface, agitated by the wind, as opposed to the deeper layers of the sea; see on 549.

illo: after *huc* we might expect *illuc*, which is actually found in V and in Servius' quotation mentioned on 549. However, all modern editors prefer the reading adopted in all other MSS.

551 **sulcato - tractus**: 'as the ships drew various tracks by ploughing the water'. 'Ploughing the sea' is a conventional poetic metapher; cf. e.g. Verg. A.2,780; 5,142; 158; 10,197; Ov. Met.4,707 (with Bömer's note); Am.2,10,33; Stat. Theb.8,18; Sil. 14,362. But here it is used not merely as a poeticism for sailing: it takes up a more literal sense of agitating the water, the key element in the passage. The result is made visible in *duxerunt tractus*, a phrase recalling Lucr. 2,207 (of a comet).

552 **quod**: to be connected with *aequor*. As MORFORD 1967,52 points out, the verse is built up with a quadruple chiasm, reinforced by allitteration of the nouns in the centre. The balanced rhythm of lines 550 and 552 sharply contrasts with the strong inner turbulence they describe.

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[1]. A further parallel might be drawn with scenes where winds enter into conflict with each other, as 5,598-612; Verg. G.1,318; a.o..

tulit remis: the meaning of *tulit* and *rettulit* is not fully clear, but I take them to refer to a horizontal movement of the water[1]; cf. on 549. For *remis* HASKINS has 'with its prow', which is plainly wrong.

haec: the reading of PUV,generally preferred to *hoc* of ZMG.

553 **sed Grais habiles...**: it is only in lines 553-7 that a difference is made between the parties (cf. on 547). With their light ships, the Massilians are able both to provoke the Caesareans, and to escape them. Therefore, it seems likely that the Massilians are the ones who are encircled. Earlier, in the course of the siege, they were at a disadvantage because of the lack of flexibility of their war machines; cf. on 478. Now a similar disadvantage arises for the Romans because of the sluggishness of their ships (see also 513).

Caesar confirms both the manoeuvrability of the Massilian ships and the slowness of those of his own troops, thereby adding further weight to the victory of the latter; Caes. Civ.1,58,1 and 3. Here, the contrast of the two types of ships merely indicates the ineffectiveness of the encircling manoeuvre. Cf. further on 556.

Grais: a possessive dative, with ellipse of the verb *esse*.

habiles: on this adjective four infinitives are dependant: *lacessere*; *temptare*; *frangere* and *cedere*. *Habilis* constructed with infinitive is extremely rare; the only other case is Stat. Theb.4,225. The constructions with gerundi(v)um or with *ad* and accusative are more regular.

lacessere: the generally adopted reading of ZM, all other MSS reading *capessere*. The combination with *pugnam* is quite normal, cf. Liv. 37,16,9; Verg. A.5,429; Stat. Theb.1,413; cf. also BC 4,720[2].

pinus: 'ship'; cf. OLD s.v. 2a.

554 **nec longo - cursum**: 'to break off their course with a short turn'. *Nec* must be taken with *gyro* only. For the use of *frangere* cf. Stat. Theb.10,183; 12,232; further OLD s.v. 6c.

555 **tarde**: one of the rare places where DUFF departs from the text of HOUSMAN and, for that matter, all editors: he writes *tardae* following the MSS GU. It would then be constructed with an infinitive, like *habiles* (which would have three instead of four infinitives dependant upon it). However, this would split up 553-5 into two parts, creating an image far less suggestive of speed and manoeuvrability. The MSS authority is clearly in favour of *tarde*, which should be taken with *nec* just like *nec longo* in the preceding line.

clavo: the helm, a bar used for moving a steering oar (*gubernaculum*); cf. 9,345; Enn. Ann.508 Sk.; Verg. A.5,177; 10,218; a.o.. Ancient rudders were not installed at the stern but both at the port and starboard; cf. in general on rudders SAINT-

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1. LUCK seems to assume a vertical movement, rendering *tulit* as 'aufgewühlt', possibly inspired by the image of ploughing in 551. However, he is not consistent and renders *rettulit* as 'zuruckgeworfen'.

2. On the other hand, as OLLFORS 1967,117 points out, *capessere pugnam* equally occurs: cf. Stat. Theb.11,158; V.Fl. 6,108.

DENIS 1935b,64-7, CASSON 1971,224-8, REDDÉ 1986,80-4. *Flectenti clavo* is only paralleled by Sil. 14,403 following the present text.

556 **at Romana - usum** 'but the Roman ships were more reliable in providing a stable bottom to the fighters, and a use similar to land'. This has already been alluded to in 513 and will return later in 566 For the idea cf. also 5,708 *ut terrestre, coit consertis puppibus agmen.*

The sluggish, heavy ships of the Caesareans recall those first used by Romans in the First Punic War (264-241 B.C.) against lighter Carthaginian vessels, cf. Plb 1,20, 22-3; 51, esp.1,23,6-7 *paraplèsion gar pezomachias sunebaine ton kindunon apoteleisthai*; see also below, and in general on 509-762 (4).

Romana ratis. according to OPELT 1957,438 this expression reveals patriotic pathos overshadowing Lucan's anti-Caesarean attitude. However, I cannot see patriotism here any more than in 529 *Romanae classis* The mere alliteration can hardly count as a patriotic signal The echoes of the First Punic War (see above) rather bring out an ironical contrast between the glorious Roman achievements of the past and Caesar's impious acts in the present civil war.

558 **tunc in...**· after the three successive operations (542-57) have led to nothing, Caesar's general Brutus initiates close combat by a provocative action: he orders his helmsman to expose the sides of his ship to the enemy's attacks The closest model for the passage is Caes. Civ.2,6,4-5[1], where two triremes assail Brutus' ship, it rapidly moves away, causing the assailants to crash Lucan's version is markedly different· first, Brutus provokes the conflict; second, his ship is actually rammed by some of the enemy's ships, although these are caught, it can hardly have got away undamaged itself, finally, the incident is used as a starting point for the close combat.

Within the context of the mass scenes of 538-82, the concrete image of Brutus and his ship stands out clearly[2]. It brings the tension and pathos to a climax, and resolves it Characteristically, Lucan does not tell what happened further to Brutus' ship: once the first attacks have occurred, the text develops into a rather abstract mass scene again.

signifera: obviously an epithet of *puppe*. It has been taken as referring to the image of a ship's *tutela* (see on 511), cf. HASKINS; OLD s.v. *signifer* 1 'adorned with images' But a *tutela* was present on many ships, whereas Brutus' ship is repeatedly mentioned as unique (514, 535-7). Probably the word refers to military *signa*, in this case the ensign of the flagship, cf. also SAINT-DENIS 1935b,113

magistro. poetical for the steersman of a ship, as in e g. Verg. A.1,115, 5,176, 6,353, Ov. Ars 1,6. The normal term was *gubernator*; cf. CASSON 1971,310. For the ending *puppe magistro* 1,501; further Stat. Theb.8,269, Silv.5,3,127, Sil. 1,687; 3,153 a o.; for steersmen cf. further on 593.

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[1] Cf also Caes Civ 1,58,4 *singulas binis navibus obiciebant*

[2] Brutus' role may also reflect the traditional epic view that the leader of an army played a prominent role in the fighting, cf METGER 1957,18wn1

559 **ait**: a full and neutral introduction of a speech, as in 435. *Ait* is remarkable here, since it is mostly used in the parenthetical type of introduction, as in 38 and 716; cf. SANGMEISTER,65-6. For the short speech starting in the middle of 559, see on 38.

pateris...: Brutus' words seem to display a traditional Roman fighting spirit, averse to tricks and strategems. But ironically, the Roman ships took the initiative, at least in the third manoeuvre (547-57); see also on 560.

acies: TLL V,808,64ff explains *acies* as *classes*, comparing other examples of *errare* referring to ships, Verg. A.5,867; Ov. Fast.2,391 and B.Afr.44,1. However, the abstract meaning 'battle' seems more to the point in this context of the beginning of a battle scene and produces a stronger effect; cf. WIDDOWS' free but apt translation 'why allow this to become wide ranging, a battle of movement?'.

560 **artibus - pelagi**: interpreted by most translators as a dative dependant on *certare* expressing the field of rivalry: 'against naval manoeuvres'. In this case Brutus would be formally disclaiming any responsibility for the manoeuvres. But we may also take it with CANALI and WIDDOWS as an ablative expressing the field of rivalry: 'in naval manoeuvres'. This gives a subtler, more ironical sense: like a principled Roman, Brutus is condemning the manoeuvres - after they have been tried in vain. For both constructions cf. OLD s.v. *certo* 1a-b.

561 **Phocaicis**: referring to Phocaia in Asia Minor, the mother city of Massilia; hence poetical for 'Massilian', as in 583 and 728; see on 172.

rostris: the steersman is ordered to expose the sides of the ship to the enemy[1], so as to provoke attempts at ramming. This move is intended to take away the enemy's advantage of mobility. The double hyperbaton in 561 may suggest the confrontation itself.

562 **obliquas - alnos**: an explanation of *medias - carinas*. For the phrase cf. Liv. 37,30,6 *obliquas se ipsae ad ictus praebebant*; 28,30,10; Sen. Phaed.1073 *ne det obliquum latus*.

563 **tum...**: the passage on Brutus' ship is concluded by a pathetic climax: it is rammed by Massilian vessels, but these cannot withdraw after hitting it and get caught, either directly, or through grappling-irons and chains, or because their oars get entangled. For the model and the function of the passage see on 558 *tunc in...*; for its pathos see NOWAK 1955,85-6.

robora Bruti: an allusion both to the material from which the Roman ships were made (510-3) and to the strength they represent (see on 529).

564 **percussae capta cohaesit**: 'got stuck in the (ship) it had hit, and was caught'. An explanation of the striking paradox *ictu victa suo*. OUDENDORP compares Liv. 37,30,10 and Sil. 14,381-4 for the idea. The MSS provide several variants for *percussae* (found in MZQY): *percussa et* (Z^2ABRUVEWJ), *percussaque* (G) and *percussa est* (P); cf. GOTOFF 1971,117. But *cohaereo* is regularly constructed with the dative (cf. Ov. Met.4,553; 5,125; further OLD s.v.1), and the commonly accepted text makes excellent sense.

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1. As such, this would be a most dangerous move in rough sea; cf. Verg. A.1,105; Sen. Phaed.1073; but here the sea is calm (521-4).

565 ast: the archaic form of *at*. In poetry it remained in use as a metrically convenient variant; cf. Austin on Verg. A.2,467; TLL II,942,83ff. In BC 3 it is also used in 754.

manicae: normally the word denotes handcuffs, but here it is used in an exceptional way as a synonym of *harpago* or *manus ferrea* (cf. Caes. Civ.1,58,4 and 635): a 'grappling-iron'; TLL VIII,301,83f gives no parallel for this meaning.

teretes: 'tightly twisted', 'firmly woven', a rare meaning, given only by Lewis/Short s.v. I. There seems to be no Latin parallel for its use with *catenae*, although one may compare examples like Hor. Carm.1,1,28 (*plagae*); Ov. Fast.2,320 (*zonam*) and Sen. Phaed.45-6 (*laquei*)[1]. Possibly Lucan is imitating the Homeric *eustrephès*, used to describe ropes and cables in Od.10,147 and 14,346[2].

566 seque - remis: the ships' oars get entangled, probably with the oars of Caesarean ships. For *remis* the MSS PC have *remi*, a less likely, though not impossible reading.

tecto...aequore: another paradox: the sea is covered with ships, as it was with missiles in 546 and will be with blood in 572-3 and with corpses in 575 (cf. also on 652 *clauso...mari*). Only shortly before, in 546, the sea was entirely free of ships. This is the sort of extreme contrast Lucan likes very much.

The idea of the sea being covered by ships is a topos dating back to A. Pers.419-20 and Hdt. 7,45[3]. In Latin literature cf. e.g. Verg. A.4,582 *latet sub classibus aequor*; Man. Poet.3,20; Eleg.Maec.45; Sen. Suas.2,3,8; (Sen.) Oct.42; Sen. Ag.41; 434; further Man. Poet.1,776; Juv. 10,175-6. The combination of the two paradoxes in 566 may have been inspired by Liv. 26,39,12-3.

stetit...bellum: 'the fight became stationary' (HASKINS). Now the paradox already alluded to in 513 (*stabilis - bellis*) and 556-7 (*stabilem - usum*) has come to a climax: finally, the Romans have achieved their aim in making the fight like a battle on land. For the use of *stare* cf. Sil. 14,519 *steteruntque rates ad proelia nexae*. In addition, it may recall the sense 'to last, to continue' of Livian phrases like *stetit... pugna* (e.g. Liv. 7,7,7; 27,2,6; 29,2,15).

567 iam non...: after Brutus has provoked the first clashes, close combat starts taking place. The mass scene 567-82, formed by seven successive paradoxes, brings out the violence and novelty of the fighting. For the priamel in 567-70 see on 101; for catalogues of horrors see on 342; similar cases involving horrors of war are e.g. 6,169-79; 7,619-30; 764-76; 789-94. Cruel and violent deaths are not merely part of the war, as in Homer or Vergil, but seem to have become the main theme; see METGER 1957,27-9; see also on 509-762 (4).

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1. OLD s.v. 1c (not quoting the present text) says nets and fabrics called *teres* are 'rounded into a bulge'. This seems less apt. Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. Carm.1,1,28 suggest the sense 'fine', which may do for a net, but is rather unlikely as an epithet of chains.

2. Cf. further *streptos* used of clothes (Il.5,113; 21,31) and *eustreptos* of leather cables (Od.2,426 and 15,291).

3. Both cases refer to Xerxes and the Persian wars of 480 B.C., as some of the later examples do as well. For Xerxes in BC see on 284 and 286.

excussis...lacertis: 'as the arms were shot out'. *Excutere* is used for the movement of the arms in throwing missiles, cf. OLD s.v. 7 and above on 538. For the phrase cf. 1,424 *excusso...lacerto*; 4,386; Ov. Ep.4,43; Pont.2,9,57; Sen. Ben.2,6,1; Stat. Theb.10,745.

tela lacertis: for the ending cf. 2,502 (*torserunt tela lacerti*); further e.g. Ov. Met.12,79; Stat. Theb.5,378; 9,904.

568 **nec - ferro**: not merely a paraphrase of 567: the notions of distance (*longinqua*) and of hitting (*cadunt...vulnera*) are added.

cadunt...vulnera: considering the verb, *vulnera* must be rendered as 'wounding weapons' here, as in 314. Cf. also 7,514 *cadunt mortes*.

vulnera ferro: for the ending cf. 9,678; Ov. Hal.61 and further SCHUMANN 1983, s.v..

569 **miscenturque manus**: 'but they fought hand to hand'. *-Que* is adversative: after the notion of fighting at a distance has been repeated once again in 568 (cf. 538-9; 545-6), here it is turned into its opposite. For the pathos cf. NOWAK 1955,21-2.

570 **ensis**: the sword plays a major role in the naval battle. This paradox illustrating the foregoing *miscenturque manus* brings the recurrent idea of a land battle at sea (cf. on 566) to a new climax. It is closely imitated in Sil. 14,521 *et gladio terrestria proelia miscent*. For *ensis* and *gladius* see on 323; for the sword as a special weapon in epic associated with force and *furor*, see METGER 1957,33-6.

stat - puppis: 'each man leaned forward from the bulwark of his own ship' (DUFF). The Latin is concise, *stat* indicating a firm but not fully upright position.

571 **pronus - ictus**: 'exposing himself to hostile blows' (cf. HASKINS, LUCK and CANALI). An active translation, 'eager to deal blows to the enemy', is possible as well, and many scholars (starting with the Comm.Bern.) have chosen that approach. But in view of the constant stress in book 3 on victims rather than those who kill, on opposition and defiance of weapons rather than the use of them, the first seems more appropriate. For the idea cf. e.g. 707-8; 4,480 *admoto occurrere fato* and HÜBNER 1975,206n45; in general RUTZ 1960.

nulli: the generally accepted reading of ZM, for which the other MSS read *multi*.

perempti: not surprisingly, words and expressions for 'killing' are frequent in any battle scene. Lucan's vocabulary in this sphere shows subtle changes in relation to Vergil's. For instance, Vergil's favourite words *sternere* and *caedere* (29 and 27 times) are used less frequently (7 and 16 times) in favour of synonyms like *perimere* (8 in Vergil, 14 in Lucan); cf. WEBER 1969,45-52.

572 **cecidere**: in a regular naval battle, men struck by missiles tend to fall on their own ships or in the water. Here, paradoxically, they fall onto the enemy's ships. The poet focuses on the unusual character of this falling by using a negation (*nulli - in suis*) and adding no other detail. It seems relevant to note that *cadere* is a common word in epic poetry for 'to die'; cf. WEBER 1969,52. Lucan may well be playing with this sense here.

cruor - spumat: 'blood foamed deep upon the sea'. The basic epic topos is that of water colouring red due to blood[1]. For blood see on 124; for its flowing during the battle, cf. on 589 and 639; for the imagery of blood and water see below on 577.

But Lucan goes further, using several other motifs: the water does not simply turn red, but is actually hidden from view by thick layers of blood, a variation of the motif of the covered sea (see on 566), possibly inspired by Achilles' words in Acc. Trag.313 W *Scamandriam undam salso sanctam obtexi sanguine*. Furthermore, the normal foam of the waves is replaced by foam of blood, recalling Enn. Trag.118 Joc. *maria salsa spumant sanguine*; Verg. A.6,87; 9,456 (*spumanti sanguine rivos*) and 9,700-1; cf. also BC 4,758; 7,699. Finally, this motif is given a new twist: the foam starts to clot, which recalls Verg. A.2,277; Ov. Met.12,270; 13,492; 14,201[2].

altus: with blood, as in 1,329 and 2,214. It is not impossible to interpret *cruor altus* with METGER 1957,48n1 as 'Herzensblut', coming from the chests defiantly exposed to the enemy in 571. Still, it seems preferable to take *altus* as a predicative adjective indicating the quantity of blood (cf. also Verg. A.11,633). This is a better explanation for both the foam (*spumat*) and the clotted blood (*concreto*).

573 **et obducti - fluctus**: this image explains the foregoing difficult statement, and adds a final point; see on 572. Lines 572-3 have been closely imitated in the medieval *Vita Willibrordi* by Thiofrid, 4,200-1, cf. ROSSBERG 1883,152.

obducti concreto: with *obducti* we must think *sunt*. In some MSS (PV) this was apparently misunderstood and instead of *concreto* they wrote *concrescunt*.

574 **quas**: sc. *puppes* (575).

immissi - ferri: 'the chains of the iron launched upon them', a curiously exact periphrasis for the instruments described in 565. For the ending *vincula ferri* cf. 2,72; 4,466.

575 **conferta**: 'packed closely together'. This reading, found in ZGVPE is generally preferred to *conserta* of MZ²ABRQYUWJ; cf. GOTOFF 1971,50. Cf. 4,490 *conferta... corpora*. HOUSMAN a.l. compares Lucr.6,1263; V.Fl. 3,274; Juv. 10,186. The word may also be taken as grimly ironical, since it is often used to describe the close order of living troops (e.g. Verg. A.2,347); for this view see LYNE 1989,117. The idea of water having become impenetrable through piled up corpses is an epic topos, cf. 2,209-20; Hom. Il.21,218-20; Catul. 64,359-60; Verg. A,5,806-8; Stat. Theb.9,436-7; Sil. 1,45-9; Claud. 21,186-7.

cadavera: the word is avoided in classical poetry, as it had a very negative ring. In epic it was usually replaced by *corpus*; cf. AXELSON 1945,49-50; Norden on

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1. Cf. 2,713; 7,116; 700; 8,33-4; Hom. Il.21,21; Verg. A.8,695. For the earth covered with blood, see e.g. 7,728-9; further Hom. Il.4,451; 10,484; Verg. A.12,691; Ov. Met.5,76.

2. Cf. also Petr. 124,273; Cels. 5,26,23; further Verg. A.12,905 *gelidus concrevit frigore sanguis*. The Adn. also compare Verg. G.3,360 *concrescunt... in flumine crustae* (of ice in the water).

Verg. A.6,149[1]. Lucan has a particular fancy for this crude word: no other Latin author shows a more frequent use of it (36 cases); Seneca comes closest (with 18 cases). HÜBNER 1976b,303 has observed that the sense 'fallen' is more accurate here than 'corpse'[2]. The ambiguity inherent to the first is similar to that of *cadere* (above, 572).

576 **semianimes**: a word indicating the vague condition between life and death. Cf. e.g. Enn. Ann. 484 Sk.; Verg. A.4,686; 10,396; 404; Ov. Met.5,105 7,577; see ESPOSITO 1987,40wn4. Lucan has 5 other cases of it.

subiere: in a nautical context, *subire* is normally used in the technical sense of 'making one's access into a place', such as a harbour or a coast; cf. OLD s.v. 10; SAINT-DENIS 1935b,107. But Lucan has returned to the literal sense of a vertical movement into the water; for which cf. Ov. Met.15,358. Here *subiere* will become even more ominous through *periere* of 579 which closely echoes it in metrical position, etymology and sound.

vastum...profundum: the heavy u-sounds as well as the hyperbaton seem to suggest the deepness and vastness of the sea. Cf. also 651.

577 **suo - pontum**: the imagery of water defiled by blood belongs to the epic tradition; cf. above on 572-3; it will return in 638-41 and 661[3]. The horrific image here echoes Man. Poet.5,666 *inficiturque suo permixtus sanguine pontus*; and Ov. Met.12,326 where a man's blood pours into his drinking cup (the former has been noted by SCHWEMMLER 1916,10; the latter by METGER 1957,47); cf. also Ov. Met.4,728-9 *mixtos cum sanguine fluctus / ore vomit*. Lucan's phrase has been imitated without much fantasy by Sil. 4,593.

578 **luctantem - trahentes**: 'drawing their last breath which struggled with slow death'. For *luctantem animam (cum morte)* cf. Verg. A.4,695; Sen. Phoen.142-3; further e.g. Sen. Oed.344; Apoc.3,1; Stat. Silv.1,4,107 *pugnantem animam*. Lucan has effectively combined this with the notion of breathing one's last; cf. OLD s.v. *anima* 1b.

579 **periere**: cf. on 576 *subiere*. The men who were already struggling with death (after having been injured or threatened with drowning) now finally get killed in another form of death. Similar duplications occur later in the battle; e.g. 687-90; 748-51; see also on 587.

periere ruina: for the ending cf. 5,637; 9,969; for *ruina* see on 290.

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1. Vergil uses *cadaver* only in G.3,557 (of animals) and A.8,264. The word is rare in other epical poets, like Ovid and Statius, and is avoided in lyrical poetry. Cf. TLL III,12,56ff.

2. In support of this, it may be adduced that the etymological link with *cadere* was already firmly established in antiquity; cf. e.g. Serv. on Verg. A.6,481. Lucan seems to play with it in several cases, e.g. 2,134 *cecidere cadavera*; 4,787 *stetit omne cadaver*; see further MORETTI 1984,44-6.

3. Apart from places mentioned above on 572 cf. also 2,214-20; 4,321-3; 567-8; 6,365-6; 7,176; 537; 789-90; 9,810-4 (body fluids); 10,32-3; further e.g. Liv. 22,1,10; Verg. A.11,393-4; 12,35-6; Ciris 76; Man. Poet.5,666; Ov. Fast.6,566; Met.8,33-4; 12,111-2; Stat. Theb.1,38; Sil. 1,126. Cf. RAABE 1974,79-83; SAYLOR 1986 on 4,148-401.

580 irrita - caedes: 'weapons which missed their target did some killing of their own in the water', a paradox illustrated and clarified in 581-2. Lucan gives a new twist to the motif of demoniac weapons behaving as living beings, a form of animism common in epic. Cf. e.g. Hom. Il.4,126; 521; 11,574; 21,70; Verg. A.11,804; see FUHRMANN 1968,38. For missiles striking at random cf. e.g. 6,78-9; 7,485-8; 514-7; further e.g. Sen. Phaed.816-9; for *irrita tela* cf. 722; Verg. A.2,459; 11,735; Prop. 4,9,40 a.o..

581 frustrato: almost a synonym of *irrita* in 580; cf. also TLL VI,1,1440,36ff with further parallels.

pondere ferrum: for the ending cf. 725; 4,776; further e.g. Ov. Am.3,8,37; Sil. 6,355.

582 exceptum: sc. by a victim; cf. 601.

invenit vulnus: this particular idea of a weapon 'finding wounds' (explaining *suas - caedes*) forms the climax of the section 567-82, esp. lines 575-6. It may also have been inspired by texts like Liv. 26,39,13 *ita in arto stipatae erant naves, ut vix ullum telum in mari vanum intercideret* (quoted by METGER 1957,70n1). After Lucan, it returns in Stat. Theb.8,526; 11,512; Sil. 4,140-1.

583-646 In a series of single combats, several warriors meet their death.

(1) Summary:

While displaying courage and vigour, the Roman soldier Catus perishes in an uncommon way. So do the Massilians Telo and Gyareus, as well as one of a pair of twins. The ship his body falls on is sunk. Lycidas meets an equally violent end.

(2) Structure:

In this third part of 509-762 the battle is no longer described in scenes of mass fighting, as in the previous part, but in a sequence of individual fights. It may be divided according to its protagonists who are all clearly distinguished from each other: (i) Catus (583-91); (ii) Telo (592-9); (iii) Gyareus (600-2); (iv) a pair of twins (603-34); (v) Lycidas (635-46). The central part is clearly (iv): it is the longest and most elaborate scene.

(3) Historical material:

Considering the nature of the scenes, we should not expect them to have any historical basis. Still, the actions of one of the twin brothers in 603-34 echo among other things the heroic behaviour of the Caesarean soldier Acilius during the naval battles near Massilia; for Lucan's adaptations see on 609.

(4) Literary material:

The section consists of a number of relatively small, isolated scenes. In each of them, an individual warrior, identified by his skills or actions and often by a name, is represented in his final hour. All of them behave heroically, literally fighting to the death if they are given the opportunity. Individual combats are part of the epic tradition; so are extensive and detailed descriptions of wounds and violent fighting, and 'frozen movements'; see on 509-762 (4).

But the accent has been shifted from the usual inflicting death upon others to facing and meeting death. The scenes picture fierce and stubborn resistance, but no longer against a clear cause (as in e.g. 112-53 or 298-372). It has become an almost absolute desire of fulfilment in death. Until their bodies are literally torn or cut apart these Lucanean soldiers keep on fighting, being in a state of unremitting, blind *furor*, quite unlike their Homeric or Vergilian counterparts. They are not battling heroically for a good cause, but incur strange and absurd forms of death in what seems excessive, isolated fighting. Lucan shows an unusual interest in these *varii miracula fati* (634), which bring the pathos of his work to new extremes.

Although most of the text has apparently sprung from the poet's own imagination, epic topoi are present in a number of places, especially in 603-34.

583 **Romana ratis**: one of the Roman ships, but clearly not Brutus' ship, as SCHÖNBERGER 1968,101n21 thinks: the flagship has already played its role, having been hit and damaged by several ships in 563-4. Here a fresh attack is described against another ship surrounded (*vallata*) by enemies.

584 **robore diducto**: the expression resembles 547 *diductis... proris*, but *robur* does not refer to ships as in 532 and 563, but to troops, as in 517: 'with its crew divided'. As in 547, several MSS read *deducto* (MZAB; cf. GOTOFF 1971,197).

tuetur: the subject is *Romana ratis*. The ship defends her port and starboard with its crew split into two groups.

585 **aequo Marte**: a mainly prosaic expression for fighting with no advantage to either side; cf. Caes. Gall.7,19,3; Liv. 2,6,10; 2,40,14. Vergil used it in A.7,540.

586 **Catus**: probably an invented character. In accordance with Vergilian practice (cf. HEINZE 1915,245), minor characters are freely added by the poet. Their names do not refer to historic persons. This name *Catus* (spelled wrongly in many MSS) is taken up in Sil. 4,139[1].

aplustre: the sternpost of the ship, finished off in a plume- or fan-like ornament; cf. CASSON 1971,64; 147; REDDÉ 1986,76-7; for illustrations e.g. CASSON 1971,ill.108; VIERECK 1975,22. It was cut off from vanquished vessels as a trophy. In Roman poetry the word occurs in e.g. Enn. Ann.608 Sk.; Lucr. 2,555; 4,437; Cic. Arat.fr.24, but not in Vergil. The old singular *aplustre* was revived by Silver Latin poets according to TLL II,241,13ff, quoting this place and Juv. 10,136.

retentat: Catus is probably trying to prevent the Greek ship from fleeing, exactly as Hector does in Hom. Il.15,716-7 *ouchi methiei / aphlaston meta chersin echoon* and Cynaegirus, the brother of Aeschylus, with a Persian ship in Hdt. 6,114 *epilabomenos toon aphlastoon neos*; for further references to the famous case of Cynaegirus see on 609, where it is alluded to again.

587 **terga - transigitur**: just as his ship is attacked on both sides, Catus is struck simultaneously by two different missiles in his chest and his back. Homer and Vergil describe wounds in either the chest or the back, and even double wounds, the second one dealing the mortal blow, but no such simultaneous wounds. Catus'

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1. The words *cuius - Catus* are quoted by (Sergius) 4,497,33 K (on *puppe*).

strange wounds reflect a literary innovation rather than a reality of war; cf. also NOWAK 1955,126-7; METGER 1957,36-8. Lucan seems to have been particularly inspired by Ov. Met.9,127-30 and Sen. Thy.740-3[1].

terga...pectora: for the combination cf. 4,468 and 8,663. Here they are both accusativi relationis; cf. LHS II,36-8. For the ending *pectora telis* cf. 6,232; 7,623; Ov. Met.2,504; 605; 13,458 and others quoted by SCHUMANN 1983 s.v..

simul pariter: the simultaneity of the injuries is brought out by the juxtaposition of the adverbs. As FRANCKEN and HOUSMAN notice, *simul* must be taken with *et pectora*, and *pariter* with *missis*.

588 **medio - ferrum**: the scene becomes almost absurd: the two spears meet each other in Catus' chest. HOUSMAN points to the imitation by Sil. 4,567-9. The MSS' *pectore* seems wrong here, considering *pectora* in the previous line. The majority of modern editors adopt *corpore*, a conjecture of Van Jever. Both *corpore ferrum* and *pectore ferrum* are traditional endings; cf. SCHUMANN 1983 s.v. (for the latter cf. even Andr. Poet. 43-4 W).

589 **stetit - sanguis**: a new form of the old motif of the flowing of blood during a battle (cf. already Hom. Il.4,140): the blood is retarded before flowing out, in a moment of frozen action (cf. on 509-762 (4)). Lucan has combined this with the idea of things 'doubting' as to the direction into which they should fall, as in 5,602. This motif occurs in Seneca's tragedies; e.g. Thy.697-8 *dubia quo pondus daret*; 723-5; Troad.206; Ag.786-7; for hesitancy ascribed to things in general see Tarrant on Sen. Ag.140. For other motifs involving blood cf. on 572 and 639.

vulnere sanguis: for the ending cf. 638; 746; 4,216; 291; further e.g. Verg. A.12,51; 422.

590 **donec - hastas**: finally, the blood flows out through both wounds, pushing out both spears at once. This reaction of the body corresponds to the injuries inflicted simultaneously. The poet has obviously aimed at surpassing lines like Ov. Met.6,259 *expulit hanc sanguis* (sc. *sagittam*) and 13,394 *expulit ipse cruor* (sc. *ensem*). Traditionally, the motif has a simpler form: when a weapon is torn out of a wound, the blood and the life giving soul flow out; e.g. Hom. Il.16,504-5; Verg. A.10,486-7; further Ov. Met.9,129-30 (a double wound); cf. further on 640.

591 **divisitque - letum**: the subject is still *cruor*. The blood disperses the life carrying soul (see on 640) and spreads out death into the wounds. In the unusual combination *spargere letum* the verb with its connotation of drops seems very well chosen. The whole section 587-91 has been imitated by Sid.Apol. C.7,291-4, a parallel quoted by OUDENDORP.

592 **huc**: the word connects the scenes of Catus and Telo, but in a rather superficial way, the latter merely steering his ship towards the same spot.

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1. In both texts someone is killed by a double wound. In the former this is due to an arrow hitting the back and piercing the chest. In the latter the motif is given a new form: death is caused by a sword driven into the chest and piercing the back.

miseri: Telo is given a pathetic qualification even before we learn about his fate. His action cannot result in anything but death. For similar anticipations reducing suspense but increasing pathos cf. e.g. on 170 *secum casuras*.

Telonis: Telo and Gyareus (line 600) have been identified as brave Massilian twins by DAVIN 1952,74-76, who even states that they were born about 75 B.C. and that Toulon may owe its name to our hero. These romantical phantasies have been rightly rejected by OPELT 1957,440. Telo is no more a historical character than Catus or any of the others except Brutus. He even bears a Vergilian name; cf. Verg. A.7,734[1]. The name serves to indicate the non-Roman identity of the seaman.

593 **qua nullam melius...**: as Catus was characterized by his audacious act so is Telo by his skill. For the type of expression cf. e.g. Verg. A.6,164-5 *quo non praestantior alter...*; 9,772-3; Ov. Met.1,322-3. The construction is not easy: *carinae* is the subject of the first part of the relative clause where *qua* refers to *dextra*; in the second part the antecedent changes from the hand to the whole person (*ulli*), and *lux* becomes the subject.

Many MSS show confusions here: for *pelago* of most MSS (as well as Lactant. on Stat. Theb.5,412 who quotes Lucan's phrase) others read *pelagi* (ZMP) or even *pelagus* (Y and possibly R); for the certain reading *nullam* MZABRP read *nulla*, and Av *nullae*, probably through attraction of *qua* and *carinae* respectively; for the readings cf. GOTOFF 1971,117 and 158. In the MS U lines 594-5 are placed after 599.

Good steersmen occur elsewhere in BC too, and clearly have the poet's sympathy: the most important ones are Amyclas in 5,504-677 and the very skilled steersman of Pompey in 8,159-201; cf. also the steersman of Brutus' ship in 558-64[2]. These Lucanean steersman have predecessors in epic: cf. especially Phrontis in Hom. Od.3,279-83 and Palinurus in Verg. A.5,835-61. The first is qualified as surpassing other men in the skill of steering, but gets killed by Apollo; the second proves to be reliable and dutiful but is thrown into the water by Somnus along with his oar[3]. Both of these tales seem to have been in the poet's mind here. Significantly, Telo is not overcome on purpose by a God, but struck accidentally in the blind violence of war.

melius: approaches the sense of *magis* here; cf. HUDSON-WILLIAMS 1986,492.

pelago turbante: 'in turbulent sea'. *Turbare* is intransitive here, as in Lucr. 2,126; 6,370; Verg. A.6,801; further Var. R.3,17,7 *cum mare turbaret*.

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1. Silius has two persons called Telo in 8,541 and 14,443.

2. These steersmen are sharply contrasted with the main characters they carry in their ships, Caesar (book 5) and Pompey (book 8). They embody the safe, simple life; cf. BURCK/RUTZ 1979,182. The point is made explicitly in 5,526-31.

3. On Palinurus and the apparent inconsistencies between books 5 and 6 of the *Aeneid* cf. OFFERMAN 1971.

594 audivere manum: for *audire* in the sense 'obey' or 'answer' with inanimate things OLD s.v. 11b quotes i.a. Verg. G.1,514 *neque audit currus habenas* (a parallel already noticed by the Adn. and Comm.Bern. and Lactant. on Stat. Theb.4,412); Ov. Met.5,382; Sen. Her.O.975-6. As on other occasions, Silius has simply copied Lucan's phrase in 14,393.

lux...crastina: 'next day's weather'; *crastina lux* is a regular combination (cf. e.g. Verg. A.8,170; 10,244; see further TLL IV,1106,51ff), but here it obviously denotes not so much the next morning as the weather it will bring.

595 seu - lunae: Telo closely watches both the sun and the moon. The *cornua lunae* are the horns of the crescent moon; cf. OLD s.v. 7b; the ending has become a commonplace in epic poetry since Ovid; cf. Ov. Met.8,11; 10,479; 12,264; Mart. 2,35,1; Stat. Ach.1,644; and see further SCHUMANN 1983 s.v.; cf. also Ov. Met.1,11 *cornua Phoebe*. For *seu... seu* see on 39.

videat: in the preceding relative clause the subject has changed from *dextra Telonis* to an implied *Telo*; see on 593.

596 componere: the syntax is difficult. The best solution seems to be to take it as a historic infinitive expressing habitual or customary action. This sense is reinforced by *semper*, which is needlessly questioned by SHACKLETON BAILEY; cf. BADALI 1989,158. We may thus interpret it as *componebat*. This view goes back to CORTIUS and has been defended recently with many parallels by HUDSON-WILLIAMS 1986,492-4. For historic infinitives in BC cf. 1,132-5; 147-8; 167-70 a.o.. For the present case cf. Verg. A.9,772-7.

carbasa: here 'sails' (cf. on 239 for a different usage). The word replaces the normal *vela* in many nautical expressions (cf. SAINT-DENIS 1935b,33) and as a poetical variant (cf. below); for *componere carbasa* TLL III,2119,67ff quotes only one parallel, Sil. 6,354; in both examples the verb is interpreted in the general sense 'praeparare, apparare'.

The ending *carbasa ventis* is traditional again; cf. 5,560; 9,77; further Ov. Ars 2,337; Rem. 531; Ep.7,171; Stat. Ach.1,446; V.Fl. 4,422 a.o..

597 hic - alni: 'he would have broken the framework of the Roman vessel with his beak'. Telo nearly succeeds in ramming the Roman ship (mentioned in line 583) towards which he had sailed. For ramming see 542-5. The indicative *ruperat* is used with irrealis force; see LHS II,327-8.

598 pila: the generally accepted reading of ZM opposed to the vague *tela* of the other MSS. *Pilum* is the common word for a Roman spear. It is very rare in poetry, where *hasta*, *iaculum* and other words are preferred: Vergil and Horace each use *pilum* only once; Ovid four times. However, Lucan has no less than 20 cases; further statistics are given by LYNE 1989,105-6. By employing such words, the poet reduces the 'remoteness' of the traditional epic war; cf. also on 323 (*gladius*).

trementia: 'trembling', in a strictly physical sense, without the notion of fear; cf. Lucr. 4,77; Hor. Epod.10,8. When said of a spear the detail seems strange, whereas it is fairly normal of parts of the body trembling from age or weakness (cf. OLD s.v. 1c), or convulsing after being cut off, as in Lucr. 3,644 *ut tremere in terra videatur ab*

artubus id quod / decidit abscisum and Ov. Met.6,558. This may be relevant here, especially since the topos of severed limbs occurs in its full form in 612.

599 **avertitque ratem**: the most logical explanation seems to be that Telo is hit, collapses upon the steering oar and so makes the ship change its course by accident, thereby causing the attack to be broken off. As METGER 1957,48 has keenly observed, this steersman who was said to be unequalled is not merely killed, but even frustrated in his skill at the very moment of death.

600 **Gyareus**: another Massilian, coming to Telo's help; for his connection with Telo see further on 592. His name sounds uncommon, recalling only an island *Gyaros* mentioned by Verg. A.3,76 a.o..

erepere: Gyareus apparently wants to replace Telo at the steering oar. For *erepere* in the sense 'to clamber up' with a direct object cf. Hor. S.1,5,78-9; Stat. Silv.2,2,30. The MSS give several variants for *erepere*, found in ZM: *et repere* (U); *eripere* (P); and *erumpere* in all MSS (J being illegible here); cf. GOTOFF 1971,117.

601 **excipit**: cf. 582.

suspensa per ilia: Gyareus is hit in the side near the groin, a traditional spot for war injuries since Homer; cf. also 724. Here this part of the body is said to be hanging in the air, a curious paradox explained in 602[1]. For the ending *ilia ferrum* cf. Ov. Met.3,67; 4,119; 734.

602 **affixus - pependit**: 'fastened to the ship he hung there, while the spear held him in his place'. The enigmatic *suspensa* of line 601 is immediately explained: Gyareus has been hit while climbing up the ship. The spear has pierced his body and pinned him to the ship's gunwale. Lucan has probably adapted the motif from Ov. Met.5,123-7, where Pelates' right hand is pinned to a doorpost; cf. especially Met.5,127 *retinente manum moriens e poste pependit*; cf. also Ov. Met.12,327-31; 385-7; in BC also 7,624; further 9,765[2]. HASKINS suggests that Gyareus climbs up the ship by means of a rope. However, in view of the entire context (including, e.g. 661-9), it seems more likely that he is using his bare hands.

603 **stant gemini fratres...**: in the longer section 602-34 warriors are not merely swept away by death: much attention is paid to their attempts at achieving something before dying. The pathos of fighting to the bitter end emerges clearly.

The section opens with the motif of twins, obviously inspired by Verg. A.10,390-6 on Larides and Thymber, a parallel which has been noticed by scholars since antiquity; cf. in recent years NARDUCCI 1979,82; ESPOSITO 1987,98. Lucan made several radical changes. First, his twins are anonymous[3]. Second, the pathos is harsh

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1. In Sil. 5,255-6 and Stat. Theb.6,473, *suspendere* is used in connection with *ilia* in a different sense.

2. At the end of Sil. 14,394-403 the wounds of Telo and Gyareus seem to have been combined: a steersman's hand is pinned to the helm by an arrow; cf. also 14,535-6.

3. DAVIN 1952,75-6 has argued that these twins are none other than Telo and Gyareus, with Telo as the active twin brother in 603-34, apparently after surviving his fatal injuries of 598-9. Such fantasies are completely unfounded; cf. further on 592.

instead of tender; thus Vergil's apostrophes have been cut and the contrast between both twin brothers is sharpened; cf. also on 605. Most importantly, the motif of cut off limbs, though present in the Vergilian model, receives the main attention; cf. for this on 609.

Stant here clearly brings out the spirit of resistance, especially by its position; cf. also on 117 *constitit*. For *gemini fratres* at this position within the verse, cf. Verg. A.7,670; Ov. Met.5,107 a.o..

gloria: the word can be used of persons bringing glory to others, cf. Verg. A.6,767; Ov. Pont.2,11,28; Mart. 2,91,1; Stat. Theb.6,340 *nova gloria matris*; further TLL VI,2080,1ff.

604 genuerunt: we would expect a plusquamperfect form here; for similar examples of the perfect used in this way, see LUNDQVIST 1907,29-32.

viscera: one of Lucan's favourite words, occurring no less than 43 times. In this case it is not metaphorical, as often in BC, starting with 1,3 (cf. also Williams on Verg. A.3,575f), but is used in its most literal sense. But considering the constant associations of death and destruction connected in BC with *viscera*, the word seems ominous even here.

605 discrevit...: lines 605-8 contain an allusion to the topos of twins being indistinguishable even to their parents; cf. Verg. A.10,391-2 *simillima proles / indiscreta suis gratusque parentibus error*; Pl. Men.18-21; V.Fl. 1,368; Sil. 2,637; Stat. Theb.5,437-8; Claud.8,206-211. Already Vergil has introduced the notion of 'difference' into the topos in 10,393, where Larides and Thymber are wounded differently by Pallas. Lucan develops it into a sick joke: as soon as one of the twins is killed, their parents can at least no longer be in doubt as to their identity. The subtle, Vergilian *gratus... error* has been brutally removed.

The lines form a striking anticipation of the outcome of the action of 609-26; it is only in 626 that one twin brother actually falls. The poet has put the last part of the tale at the beginning.

mors saeva: 'cruel death', a comparatively rare personification of *mors*; cf. 5,230; 6,601; further RAABE 1974,143n4.

607 aeternis causam lacrimis: for the correct *aeternis* ZM read *alternis* and U *alternam*. *Causa* is accompanied by an adnominal dative, as in 1,265; Verg. A.3,305 *causam lacrimis*; Hor. S.1,6,71; Sen. Oed.709; a.o.. For the function of tears, cf. on 313; for mourning parents see also 756-7.

tenet: 'keeps alive', 'keeps fresh'; for this meaning cf. Cic. N.D.2,134, adduced by HASKINS, and especially Sen. Dial.6,1,5 *teneas... dolorem tuam*, adduced by FLETCHER 1988,134.

608 et amissum - offert: the line has been omitted in ZM, but is quoted by Serv. on Verg. A.10,392 and Lactant. on Stat. Theb.9,295. On the omission in ZM cf. LUCK 1969,265. *Et* is explicative here: the grief of the parents is kept alive by the close likeness of the remaining son to his fallen brother.

609 quorum alter...: in lines 609-26 one of the twin brothers is represented in battle. As he tries to catch hold of a Caesarean ship, his right hand is cut off, but he continues to fight. Then his left arm is cut off as well. With his bare trunk he defends

his brother and others, and finally jumps to the enemy's ship, using his mere weight as a weapon. Taken as a whole, the section is a complex combination of elements from different traditions

In history, the basic model is the case of Cynaegirus in Hrdt 6,114, whose hand is hewn off in a similar situation, cf. already on 586[1]. Several sources testify that one of Caesar's soldiers, named Acilius, acted likewise during the naval battle near Massilia, continuing to fight even after his right hand has been cut off; cf. Suet. Jul 68, V Max. 3,2,22, Plu Caes 16, the first two of them explicitly comparing Acilius to Cynaegirus Significantly, in Lucan's version this behaviour is attributed to an anonymous Massilian warrior rather than the Caesarean Acilius.

In epic, mutilating and chopping off limbs was a common practice already in the *Iliad* ADAMS 1980,59 refers to Hom Il.5,80-2; 11,146, 16,323-4, Verg. A.10,341, 395, 414-5, 545. Other places may be added, e.g BC 6,176, Lucr. 3,643-56; Sil 1,347-8, 14,489-90 and see further below on 612. On the historical and epic motifs in the scene cf especially METGER 1957,49-63 and ESPOSITO 1987,97-104.

There is still a third element in declamation practice the description of a *vir fortis*, or even a *vir fortis sine manibus*, formed a stock theme, probably developed from the story on Cynaegirus, cf BONNER 1966,281-2, who for the latter refers to Sen Con 1,4, and to a declamation devoted to Cynaegirus by the Greek sophist Polemo, cf. especially Polemo A,9-11 (Hinck). In addition, we may compare Sen. Dial 9,4,5 where the theme is given a philosophical dimension, cf. PFLIGERSDORFFER 1972,261-5.

Lucan has fused all of these elements, bringing the injuries to an new extreme (cf e g on 612) and creating a new paradox. with every injury, the warrior gets more eager to fight, right up to his final moment (cf on 614) Rather than a description of brave or heroic fighting, this has become a paradoxical scene of mutilation and death, a *miraculum fati* (634)[2].

mixtis - remis· 'when the oars got entangled in an oblique comb-like disposition'. The whole phrase merely indicates that the ships were close to each other, but *obliquo pectine* is so precise as to be almost obscure. For *pecten* editors compare Ov Met 9,299 *digitis inter se pectine iunctis*. In a number of MSS (RQYVWAv, cf. GOTOFF 1971,92) we see the variant reading *pectore*. This seems quite possible, considering the position of fighters leaning forward in 570-1 and 616[3]. However, MSS authority is clearly in favour of *pectine*.

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[1] For a later version of the story cf Pomp Trog 2,9,16-20; cf further Anth Pal 11,335, an epigram devoted to Cynaegirus His name is briefly mentioned in Sen Suas 5,2, Lucianus Rh Pr 18 and JTr 32.

[2] An interesting contrast is 9,828 33 Cato's soldier Murrus cuts off his own hand after it has been bitten by a venomous snake, and in doing so saves his life Lucan may also have been inspired by the extensive praise of the human hand in Cic N D 2,150-2.

[3] The same movement is implicit in 585-6 *ab alta / puppe* and 610 *de puppe*

610 **Romanae**: the separation of *Romanae . carinae* from *iniectare manum* seems to express the effort of the soldier trying to catch hold of the ship. The juxtaposition of *Romanae* and *Graia*, as well as *puppe* and *carinae*, is surely deliberate as well.

puppe carinae: for the ending cf. 8,564.

611 **iniectare**: a rare word derived from *iacere*. It does not occur before Lucan; cf. TLL VII,1,1618,57ff.

eam: the pronoun *is-ea-id* is extremely rare in both Augustan and Silver Latin poetry. In Lucan *eam* occurs only here; *eum* just in 4,546, further 1,171, 2,726, 7,406; 10,265; 289. In general cf. AXELSON 1945,71.

612 **amputat**: a striking, harsh word, used mainly by prose writers; cf. the examples quoted in TLL I,2020,79ff. In BC cf. 2,184, 6,176.

illa tamen - haesit: after being chopped off, the hand is still clinging to the rail of the ship. This sort of prolonged activity of severed limbs is a specific topos in epic: cf. Enn. Ann.483-4 Sk. *oscitat in campis caput a cervice revulsum / semianimesque micant oculi lucemque requirunt*, 485-6 (on a trumpet continuing to sound); Lucr. 3,644-5, 653-5; Verg. A.10,395-6 *te decisa suum, Laride, dextera quaerit / seminanimesque micant digiti ferrumque retractant* (in the section on the twins already referred to on 605), further e.g. Ov. Met.5,104-6, 117-8, Sen. Thy.728-9, Ag.901-3; Stat. Theb.8,441-4[1], Sil. 4,211-2. In BC the motif is also used of a tongue in 2,181-2 (as in Ov. Met.6,557-60) and of Pompey's head in 8,682-4[2]. On the topos see FUHRMANN 1968,36-7, on cutting off limbs in general see also on 609.

Here the poet concentrates upon the entire hand rather than the fingers. More strikingly, it is seen to be stiffening instead of moving, which represents a clear innovation of the motif. The frozen movement which is thus created will be elaborated upon in the next line, cf. on 613.

nisu: the word does not mean 'position' as HASKINS comments, comparing Verg. A.5,437, but refers to a muscular effort; cf. OLD s.v. 2.

613 **deriguitque - nervis**: the line explains and amplifies 612. It contains three variations on the theme of 'stiffening', starting with the plain *deriguit*. The intransitive *tenens* appears to mean 'to take a firm hold, stick fast', a technical sense belonging to the sphere of medicine and biology, cf. the examples quoted by OLD s.v. 3d[3]. Finally, *strictis... nervis* ('its muscles drawn tight') concentrates upon the physical process within the hand, echoing *nisu* of 612.

immortua *immorior* means to die in a certain place, which is usually expressed in the dative. Here, no place is specified, for which OLD s.v.1 compares Stat.

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[1] Here the motif reaches its culmination, according to FUHRMANN 1968,36-7 a chopped off arm still handling a sword is 'killed' for a second time by another enemy

[2] The topos may have originated from lines like Hom. Il. 10,457, Od. 22,329. Specifically for the hand cf. also Il. 5,80-2 where a hand is cut off and falls *haimatoessa de cheir pedioio pese*. The hand has already become subject of a sentence and receives an adjective

[3] We may also supply an object *carinam*. But some scholars want to add a dative *carinae* to *immortua*, cf. HOUSMAN a.l.

Theb.3,545 For the rhythm cf. V.Fl. 4,182 *strictoque immortua caestu*. TLL VII,1,490,51ff further points to Sen. Oed.1040, Sil. 14,403, 16,67.

614 **crevit - virtus**: as METGER 1957,58-9 rightly observes, the fighting spirit and determination of Homeric and Vergilian warriors is sometimes increased by wounds or the threat of wounds; cf. e.g. Hom. Il.5,98-143; 20,164-75; Verg. A.12,4-9. But in these cases, the wounds are light and a hero's offended honour is the main motif for his renewed action. Here the pathos is highly increased: the wound is mortal, and the *virtus* has become an elementary sort of rage no longer directed towards a particular person or thing. For this rather perverted form of *virtus* cf. e.g. 1,144-5; 4,581, 6,240 *incaluit virtus*; 7,103, see RUTZ 1960,463-6 and 474[1].

The idea is a commonplace, cf. 9,402-3 *serpens, situs, ardor, harenae / dulcia virtuti; gaudet patientia duris*. Further e.g. Ov. Ars 2,537; Sen. Dial.1,2,4; 1,4,6; Stat. Theb.10,227, Sil. 1,533-4.

615 **truncus**: here as adjective 'mutilated', to be taken with the subject of *habet*, cf. 760; 2,124, 5,252, 8,436.

instaurat proelia: for the combination cf. Liv. 39,31,11 and Verg. A.2,669-70, the first place in poetry according to Austin a.l..

616 **rapturus**. with a final sense, as in e.g. 10,65 *ductura triumphos*. The warrior is not trying to deal a blow to an enemy, but, paradoxically, to recapture his own right hand. This seems a fairly useless act of self-assertion, illustrating his misdirected *virtus*, cf also METGER 1957,59-60.

procumbit in aequora: 'leans forward over the water'; for the movement cf. above on 609 The mutilated man is reaching for his right hand, which is probably still clinging to the rail of the ship (612-3).

617 **haec - lacerto**: the left hand is chopped off as well, along with the arm. The poet piles one atrocity on another in his attempt to surpass his epic models, cf. on 609. Here the 'overkill' produces an almost comical effect[2]. It is enhanced by the homoeoteleuton *toto . lacerto* and the regular, smooth rhythm of lines 616-7.

abscisa. ZABYP read *abscissa* (from *abscindo*) instead of the more likely *abscisa* (from *abscido*); cf. GOTOFF 1971,197.

618 **clipeo**· the *clipeus* was originally a small, round shield, different from the oval *scutum*. In poetry, the first generally denotes the shield of heroes, whereas the second is mainly prosaic; cf. LYNE 1989,104-5. Our hero is said to lack shield and weapons because he has no hands to hold them.

conditus ima: for the ending see 155. In accordance with one tenth century MS, LUCK writes *conditur*, a reading also recorded by earlier editors. However, there is no serious reason to doubt *conditus*.

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[1] To the poet, *virtus* in a civil war is often a perversion as such cf e.g. 1,667-8 *scelerique nefando / nomen erit virtus*, 6,147-8 *et qui nescivet in armis / quam magnum virtus crimen civilibus esset*, 8,494 We may even raise doubts about the *virtus* of Cato, as in 2,285-8, 9,371-3, 444-5, though JOHNSON 1987,35-66 goes too far in suggesting Cato's virtue is a mere 'solipsistic delusion' (p.63)

[2] Cf NARDUCCI 1979,83 remarking on this passage 'il ridicolo e pericolosamente vicino', which seems intended as a negative comment

619 **fraternaque**: the word subtly links the motif of the severed limbs to that of the twins; for which see on 603.

pectore nudo: 'with unarmed breast'; for the ending cf. Stat. Theb.11,418; Ach.1,77.

620 **arma tegens**: as HASKINS has noticed, the paradox is that his body is protecting the shield of his brother, instead of the other way around.

tegens... perstat: the text is probably sound. For the first MZ have *ferens* and B *regens*, for the second MZAB have *perstant*; cf. GOTOFF 1971,181 and 197.

crebra... cuspide: *cuspis* is the tip of a spear, hence poetical for spear. For some synonyms see on 598. *Creber* is used with a collective singular as in 10,121 *crebro... zmaragdo*; see also on 411.

621 **telaque - suorum**: 'missiles which would have fallen bringing death to many'. *Leto* is regarded by some as an ablative modi (FRANCKEN a.l., OBERMEIER 1886,64), but may equally be regarded as a dativus finalis, for which *letum* was often used; cf. WASZINK 1966. For *-que multorum* Z and possibly M have the strange reading *tot in puppim*.

622 **emerita morte**: 'having already earned death'[1], a paradoxical combination; for the idea cf. 5,687-9.

vulnere multo: for the collective singular cf. on 411. The ending returns in Stat. Theb.4,72; Sil. 4,596.

623 **effugientem animam**: a conventional expression for the process of dying: cf. Verg. G.4,526; Ov. Met.10,188; Sil. 1,122; 16,545; further BC 2,25 *fugiente .vita*; 5,279; 7,616; Verg. A.11,831; 12,952; Stat. Theb.10,317. In 6,713 Lucan will go one step further with *luce fugata*, cf. HUBNER 1975,209.

animam - artus: considering the next line, the *anima* appears to be closely bound up with the blood, as in 590-1, cf. SCHOTES 1969,57-9 and see further on 640.

624 **membra - sanguine**: a more precise statement of what was expressed in the previous line: the fighter strains his weakened limbs by contracting all that is left of his blood into them.

manebat: the MSS show several erroneous readings: *manebant* (E) *manebit* (P); *tenebat* (ZABRYW); cf. GOTOFF 1971,158

625 **hostilem**: to be connected with *puppem*, the hyperbaton suggesting the extreme effort of the fighter and the fall of his body.

defectis robore nervis: 'with his muscles that lacked strength'; cf. Ov. Met.5,96 *sanguine defectos.. artus*; 10,194-5 *defecta vigore.. cervix*; for the ending (*robore nervis*) see 4,372. For *nervis* ZM have *membris*; for Z this brings the number of errors within the last few lines to five; see 620 (twice); 621, 624.

626 **insiluit**: with accusative, for which OLD s.v. 1b compares Sal. Hist.5,5; Hor. Ars 465-6; and later texts. The construction with dative was more common in poetry; cf. 9,252 *insiluit puppi*, 10,506-7; Ov. Met.8,142; Sen. Phoen.24-5; a.o..

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[1] There might be also an ironical allusion to the primary sense of *emereo*, to complete one's time in the army, a term of office or a task (cf OLD s.v. 1) The twin brother has already completed his 'task' of dying in a remarkable way

solo - pondere: through his mere weight the soldier tries to inflict wounds upon the enemy, thus bringing death even while dying (as in 695-6, for the idea cf already Verg. A.9,443 *morıens animam abstulit hosti*; Sen. Ag 201-2). This is a grim variation of the equally grim motif of corpses causing casualties, which Lucan uses in 2,205-6 *peraguntque cadavera partem / caedis*, and 6,170-2 (Scaeva burying the enemy under corpses)[1]. The death of the twin brother has already been anticipated and exploited for a paradox above; see on 605.

pondere puppem. for the ending cf 649. The whole line is quoted by Prisc. GLK 2,541,1 and 3,325,5.

627 **strage - ratis**: the Roman ship, piled with corpses and covered with blood, receives blow after blow and finally sinks The exact relation between the twin brother's act and this final outcome is left unclear[2], the ship is damaged by *crebros ictus* of other ships rather than by one human body falling upon it. The individual combat scene is broadened in a rather vague way into an impression of massive destruction. *Strages* is used in the concrete sense 'corpses', for which cf. e g. Verg. A 6,504, 11,384, Sen. Oed.131, Tac. Hist.2,44 For the phrase cf 4,570-1 *tam strage cruenta / conspicitur cumulata ratis, strage virum* returns in Stat. Theb 7,591 and Sil 17,602.

628 **per obliquum...latus**: the flank of the ship is most vulnerable to attack by the enemy; cf. also 562; Liv. 28,30,10, V.Fl 1,619.

629 **et**: several MSS read *sed* (RYGUVPJ) or *at* (QW), but without doubt *et* (found in MZABE) is correct here.

ruptis... compagibus: for the sort of damage done to the ship, cf 597, cf. also Liv 35,26,8, Verg. A 1,122-3.

630 **ad - foros**. a description of the process of sinking: the ship already was full of corpses, and now completely fills with water. *Forus* or the plural *fori* is the main deck on any sort of ship, cf. 4,567, Enn Ann 512 Sk , Verg A 6,412; Cic. Sen 17; see CASSON 1971,179n54. The first syllable in *repleta*, short in 242 and elsewhere in BC, is long here.

descendit in undas: after the tension has been built up unremittingly, the ship's actual sinking comes almost as a relief. *Descendere* is used of a ship, as in Stat. Theb 3,57 and Avien. Arat.768. For the ending cf. Verg G 4,235, Stat. Theb.5,402; 9,279[3].

631 **vicinum - pontum** 'sucking in the water round her with curling eddy' (DUFF), a difficult sentence explaining and visualising the process of sinking described in 630 In OLD s.v *involvo* 3 this is quoted as an example of the sense 'to move in a circle,

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[1] Scaeva's behaviour resembles that of the twin brother in some points he jumps among the enemies in 6,181-2, after having threatened them with various objects, including his own body (6,173) Later on he intends to crush one of the enemies in his fall *in quem cadat eligit hostem* (6,206)

[2] OPELT 1957,440 says that the twin brother causes the ship to sink, but that cannot be found in the text itself, cf also FUHRMANN 1968,55wn84

[3] SHACKLETON BAILEY still records the conjecture *desedit* by Sabellicus, defended by FRANCKEN, but this seems superfluous

rotate'[1]. However, Lucan's clause is not just indicating a whirling of the water. The verb's sense here is aptly paraphrased in TLL VII,262,44 as *(volv)endo secum ducere, auferre, provolvere*, with the nuance *demergere*. Normally this is done to objects or men in the water, as in Verg. A.6,335-6 *quos... obruit Auster, aqua involvens navemque virosque*; Stat. Theb.3,323; Tac. Ann.1,70. Here the process is paradoxically reversed: the sinking ship 'merges' with the water. For the ending *vertice pontus* cf. 5,638.

632 **aequora - carina**: 'the sea split open, divided by the ship as it sank'. The poet visualizes the same event of sinking in yet another way. A similar technique is used in modern movies, where a climax may be shown in slow motion or as filmed from different angles successively.

With *aequora.. discedunt* we should not think of any supernatural phenomenon known to us from the Bible. What happens here is normal, though it is described so accurately as to become nearly absurd. As the ship sinks, its higher parts enter the water. Since these are broader as well, compared to the lower parts like the keel, the water may be said to part asunder; cf further on 633. Lucan's idea has been closely imitated by Sil 14,412-3. *Discedere* is used similarly to describe the heavens in Cic. Div.1,99 and Verg. A.9,20, cf. also Lucr. 3,17; in Sen. Her.F.321 it refers to the sea, but in a different context.

mersa: GAGLIARDI 1977 proposes reading *maesta* here with V, but his arguments are not convincing[2]. The text is sound, and the sense is clear.

633 **inque - mare**: the logical consequence of line 632: after even the highest parts of the ship have sunk below the surface, the water which had been divided by the ship (see on 632) returns to its place. As often, the poet does not show compassion, but has an eye only for the paradoxical aspect: where there was a ship shortly before, now there is only water. The phrase is quoted by Lactant. on Stat. Theb.9,502.

multaque - fati: the section is rounded off by a striking thought which also paves the way for many more spectacular death scenes to come. The sentence starts rather abruptly in the middle of the verse, as on many other occasions.

ponto: either 'to the sea', a dative dependant on *praebuit* (HOUSMAN, BOURGERY; EHLERS; CANALI) or 'at sea', an ablative of place (HASKINS; DUFF, LUCK; WIDDOWS) Both make good sense here.

634 **varii miracula fati**: a remarkable phrase, revealing the main interest of the poet in these horrific scenes of violence and death, as in e.g. 641-2; 652-3 and 689; cf. on 583-646 (4). For the phrase cf. 652-3 *unica diri... leti facies*; 9,736 *insolitas... mortes*; 9,805 *spectacula*; further Carm.de bello Act. V,2 *spectacula tristia mortis*. The basic model may have been Verg. A 2,369 *plurima mortis imago*; cf. further e.g. Petr. 124,257; Stat. Theb.9,280. For *miracula* cf. Sil. 6,54.

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[1] Similarly, HASKINS renders 'whirling round the sea hard by' For this he wrongly compares Sen Her F 682-3, where the verb means to 'coil up' or 'curl'

[2] In particular, GAGLIARDI has not understood Lucan's paraphrase technique, qualifying line 632 with *mersa* as a useless gloss to the previous lines

635 **ferrea dum puppi...**: in this last part of the section 583-646, the fate of Lycidas is described. Like Catus, Telo and Gyareus he is given no opportunity for action, being mortally hit right at the beginning But his death is retarded by the poet for more than 10 lines, in which the dying process is described with cruel precision. Though we may detect some technical interest in physiology (cf. on 640), the details' main function is to heighten the pathos. On the scene as a whole, cf. METGER 1957,30 and 40-2. Part of it is sometimes considered as being recited by Lucan himself in his dying hour, see on 638.

ferrea...manus: a 'grappling-iron', a fairly simple type of grapnel used since the 5th century B C.; cf. 2,711-2, OLD s v. *manus* 2d compares Sall. Hist.3,35; Liv. 24,34,10, Plin. Nat.7,209; Sil 14,321-2, see further CASSON 1971,121wn87; VIERECK 1975,95[1] In the naval battles near Massilia the usage of the weapon is attested to for both parties by Caes Civ.1,57,2 and 2,6,2.

rapidos...uncos· 'rapacious hooks'. *Rapidos* is the equivalent of *rapaces* or *rapientes*, as has been noted by a scholiast in a 12th century MS (cf. CAVAJONI 1979 a.l.), and by many modern editors. The personification of the weapon is consistent, *manus ferrea* being the subject of the dynamic *insert*.

636 **affixit** instead of a ship the weapon strikes a soldier. Though the verb recalls the motif of soldiers being pinned to something, used in 602, here the result is entirely different· cf. on 637.

Lycidan: a surprising name in this context of violence, since it was chiefly known to Roman readers from bucolic poetry cf. Theoc. 7; 27,42; Bion fr.6,10; Verg. Ecl.7,67, Ecl.9; Calp. Ecl.3, 6,81, cf further Ov. Met.12,310 (a centaur); Hor. Carm.1,4,19 (a young man) Given his name, Lycidas is likely to belong to the Massilians, for the Greek accusative form cf. 202 The 17th century English poet Milton in his 'Lycidas' was probably inspired by this Lucanean Lycidas rather than his bucolic predecessors, cf. DUNCAN-JONES 1956, DILKE 1972b,98-9.

637 **prohibent socii**: as the grappling-iron threatens to hurl Lycidas into the water, he is saved from drowning by his comrades. However, as will be seen, this makes matters only worse for him.

suspensa - retentant· like *affixat*, *suspensa* recalls the fate of Gyareus pinned to the ship in 601-2. By contrast, Lycidas is not stuck by the weapon, but by the 'helping' hands of his comrades gripping his legs.

crura: the human leg is rarely named in epic, unlike parts of it like the knee or the feet. ADAMS 1980,56-7 suggests that this may be due to close imitation of the Homeric model where the leg was seen only in its parts. For *crus* in BC cf. only 4,626 and 9,763[2].

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[1] It consisted of a wooden rod with an iron hook attached to it The weapon was later developed into the type known as *harpago* Here the iron part was fastened by a chain, which made it more flexible and effective

[2] Other epic poets also do not use *crus* very many times, except for Ovid who has 25 cases in the *Metamorphoses*, cf ADAMS 1980,57

638 scinditur...: the result is devastating: Lycidas is torn asunder and bleeds to death. Lucan may have been inspired by Opp. H.5,668-74 where a diver is torn asunder between a sea monster and the rope pulled by his comrades on the ship.

Throughout the centuries, lines 638ff have often been considered to be the verses Lucan recited at his hour of death, after opening his veins at Nero's command. The idea is based upon Tac. Ann.15,70 *recordatus carmen a se compositum, quo vulneratum militem per eiusmodi mortis imaginem obisse tradiderat, versus ipsos rettulit, eaque illi suprema vox fuit.* Several other texts in BC have been proposed as well, notably 7,608-15 and 9,808-14. However, no passage in BC exactly matches Tacitus' account. Lucan's *ultima verba* are probably not a historical fact, but belong to a tradition in imperial historiography; for a full discussion see HUNINK 1991[1].

639 emicuit: 'to spurt out', used to describe heavy bleeding, as in 1,614; Lucr. 2,194-5 *quod genus e nostro cum missus corpore sanguis / emicat exsultans alte spargitque cruorem*; 4,1049-51; Ov. Met.4,121 *cruor emicat alte*; 6,259-60; 9,129-30; Stat. Theb.12,776; cf. also Apul. Met.9,34.

lentus - venis: the blood 'falls slowly on all sides from the broken veins'. Most editors have seen a problem here. They print a colon after *lentus* and take it with *nec - emicuit*, arguing that the adjective is less out of place there than with *ruptis - venis*; cf. e.g. HOUSMAN's note. In their view, *emicuit* designates a slow trickling out of the blood and *ruptis - venis* a violent eruption. However, when it refers to blood, *emicare* always indicates heavy bleeding (cf. examples listed above). Here it is obviously opposed to the calm *cadit*. Therefore, it seems better to print a semicolon before *lentus*, and take it with *ruptis - venis*, as BENTLEY and, in recent years, SHACKLETON BAILEY and CANALI have done: the blood does not spurt out like it would in case of a normal wound[2], but as the blood pressure suddenly ceases completely, due to the major injuries, the blood starts flowing profusely but slowly. The phenomenon may also be seen in a similar case of extreme bleeding in 9,808-14: cf. notably 812 *manat cruor; ora redundant...* and 813-4 *omnia plenis / membra fluunt venis.*

This interpretation gains additional support from Sen. Oed.345-6 *utrum citatus vulnere angusto micat / an lentus altas irrigat plagas cruor?*, a parallel rightly adduced by Bentley. For another variation of the usual gushing of blood; cf. e.g. on 589.

640 discursus - aquis: 'the flow of the soul moving into different limbs was cut off by the water', a complex description of the moment of death in Stoic terms; cf. Sen. Dial.1,6,9 *sive haustus ignis cursum animae remeantis interscidit. Discursus* is the action of running in different directions. Here it is said of the soul, and, by implica-

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1. According to ROWLAND 1969,207-8 these lines are reminiscent of Sallust's description of the state torn to pieces, in Iug.41,5. This seems rather far-fetched.

2. Cf. also 1,614 *nec cruor emicuit solitus, sed:...*

tion, the blood, which in Stoic theory was considered its carrier; cf. SCHOTES 1969,50-1 and 57-9[1]. Cf. also 590-1; 622-5; 751; further e.g. 6,750-60.

641 **nullius...perempti**: for the poet's interest in special forms of death, cf. on 634.

642 **tanta - via**: 'was lost by such a wide path'. The phrase is vague, and has been interpreted in various ways. Most likely, it refers to the vast wounds on the body, through which the blood and soul pour out, as in 639-41. For *dimissa* cf. Lucr. 3,356 *at dimissa anima corpus caret undique sensu*; Cic. Phil.2,37; Nep. Han.12,5; Sil. 2,259. The poet possibly alludes to the notion that only a small opening in the veins may cause the soul to pour out rapidly, a thought repeatedly expressed by Seneca, e.g. Ep.70,16; Nat.3,15,5-6; Dial.5,15,4.

pars - trunci: the substantive *truncus* is one of Lucan's favourite words, occurring no less than 20 times; in BC 3 cf. also 413 (of wooden images); 669. On some possible connotations of the word cf. MORETTI 1985 and NARDUCCI 1985,1547-51; for the adjective cf. on 615. The present phrase designates the lower half of the body. For severed limbs continuing their activity, see on 612.

643 **tradidit in letum**: for the expression cf. 4,738 *tradiderat fatis iuvenem*; and periphrases quoted by WEBER 1969,57.

vacuos - artus: 'limbs devoid of the vital parts'.

644 **pulmo**: 'the lungs'. Unlike Homer, Latin epic poets tend to refer to internal organs merely in general terms like *viscera*; *fibrae*; *praecordia* or *exta*. For *pulmo* cf. 1,622; 4,327; 6,630; Verg. A.9,701; 10.387 *tumido in pulmone*; Ov. Met.6,252; a.o.; cf. ADAMS 1980,53-4.

fervent: a reference to the vital heat of the organs. TLL VI,1,591,71ff compares some examples where the word refers to persons.

645 **haeserunt**: with ruthless precision, the poet concentrates upon the final stage of the swift dying process: the remains of the body fiercely resisting death, up to the last moment; cf. further on 646.

646 **hac - viri**: the motif of resistance is taken up again, but there is no clear contrast between 'right' and 'wrong' as in previous scenes of book 3 (cf. also on 52 and 388). Instead it has become a blind, isolated conflict of physical forces and death. Significantly, we do not see the person Lycidas struggling with death, but death struggling with part of a human body which has already become anonymous and depersonalised.

tulerunt: the subject is still *fata*. For the expression cf. e.g. Verg. Ecl.5,34 *postquam te fata tulerunt*; A.2,554-5; further TLL VI,1,559,12ff.

647-96 Various groups of fighters meet their death.

(1) Summary:

A ship's crew perishes in the water after their ship has capsized. One of the soldiers is hit simultaneously by two ships while he is swimming. Other drowning men try to climb

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[1]. The blood was thought to return to the heart gradually, but the modern concept of blood circulation was still unknown, as SCHOTES points out.

up another of their ships, but their arms are cut off. The fighting grows into blind rage, men breaking up their ships in search of weapons, and pulling missiles out of bodies to reuse them. Many are killed by fire which rapidly spreads among the ships, but even while dying they try to keep fighting and killing.

(2) Structure:

Amidst the individual combats in 583-646 and 696-751, a new series of anonymous mass fights come to the foreground. Though the various groups are not so clearly distinguished from each other as in 583-646, a natural subdivision of the section may be made: (i) accidents in the water (647-69); (ii) general fury (670-9); (iii) the effects of fire (680-96).

(3) Historical material:

In this section no historical material seems to have been used at all, although this has been suggested even here; cf. on 647.

(4) Literary material:

The section is developed along similar lines as 583-646: it consists of small isolated scenes, each one leading up to curious forms of death. Here they appear in an accumulated form as variations of the three basic motifs of the passage. Epic topoi are used throughout the text.

647 **dum nimium pugnax...**: in lines 647-69 three curious accidents in the water take place. In the first of these scenes (647-52) a ship capsizes, causing the death of its crew. Then the fate of one particular soldier (652-61) and of other drowning men (661-9) are described. Though it is not impossible that these anonymous characters all belong to the crew of the same ship, the poet does not explicitly say so. Therefore, it seems better to assume that the scenes are three independant accidents related merely by the element of water. In the previous sections the distinction between both contesting parties became less sharp; as the fighting grows more and more intense it becomes largely irrelevant: only from 663 *ratis sociae* and 667 *Graia... puppe* we may deduce that the characters in the third scene are Greek rather than Roman. For the whole section cf. also METGER 1957,30-1.

In response to a manoeuvre by its enemy, the crew of a ship leans on one side of the vessel, accidentally causing it to capsize, much as in Sil. 14,539-41; cf. also Verg. A.9,539-44 (soldiers crushed by a fallen tower). In other circumstances, the same move is intentional: cf. Tac. Ann.14,5[1] and Arist. Mech.7[2].

648 **incumbit - ratem**: 'leaned on the side tilted forward and abandoned the side where the enemy was absent'. The praesens forms *incumbit* and *relinquit* are generally preferred to the perfect forms *incubuit* and *reliquit* found in UV and Z²ABRGUVEW respectively, whereas P has omitted lines 648-50 altogether (a

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1. Here, sailors attempt to kill Nero's mother Agrippina: *visum dehinc remigibus unum in latus inclinare atque ita navem submergere*. Lucan's text has been interpreted by HERRMANN 1930,340-1 as a conscious allusion to this contemporaneous event, but there is nothing to prove this suggestion.

2. Aristotle describes the common technique of compensating for a too strong inclination of a sailing craft.

second scribe has inserted another text, for which see BOURGERY's apparatus), cf. GOTOFF 1971,117.

649 pondere puppis: for the ending cf. 626

650 cava - carina: 'covered sea and sailors with its hull'. The subject of the sentence is *puppis versa*. 'Hollow' is an epithet of ships since Homer, cf. 2,649, Verg. A 3,191, Ov. Ep.18,8, Met 11,524 a o., further TLL III,717,6ff. Here it is attached slightly awkwardly to *carina* which must be taken in the literal sense 'keel' rather than the common metonymical sense 'ship'.

651 bracchia...iactare: the arm is mentioned more frequently in Latin epic than the leg (see on 637), in BC, 7 cases of *bracchium* refer to the human arm. The present phrase denotes the specific swimming technique of crawling, as in Ov. Ep 17,57, 96, 18,48, Met.5,596[1]. Related expressions may be found in e g Man 5,423-6, Prop. 1,11,12; Aus. Mos.174. For the ancient crawl cf. MEHL 1927,96-103.

Lucan's expression is a variation of the motif of bodies unable to move, for which cf. e.g. 2,201-4; 4,781-2, 787 For the related motif of bodies closely packed together, see on 575.

vasto...profundo: the same combination was used in 576. Cf also Sil. 4,245-6, V.Fl. 8,314.

652 clauso...mari: 'in the enclosed sea'. Normally, *mare clausum* denotes the sea as inaccessible due to natural causes, as in Cic Q fr 2,4,7, Man 32, cfr also BC 5,407. Here the expression is given a new turn for the men caught under the capsized vessel the sea is enclosed in a terrifyingly literal sense. The image also recalls the motif of surrounding in general (see on 368) and of the sea being covered (see on 546 and 566). Most existing translations are unnecessarily free here, as DUFF's 'in their ocean prison'.

periere· one of the comparatively few neutral words for dying used in the Massilia section In BC as a whole, *perire* is used 31 times, a marked increase when compared to other epic poems: Ennius has 1 case, Vergil 10, Statius 7, cf WEBER 1969,52.

tunc unica...: the second curious accident in the water (652-61) involves one soldier whose name and identity remain wholly obscure, cf on 647. In this short scene many motifs already used in previous scenes are combined, see on 654 and other notes below, further METGER 1957. The expression *unica din leti facies* is indicative once again of the poet's main interest, cf on 634 It seems closely modelled on Sen. Oed 180 *dira novi facies leti*, cf also Sil 4,437-8 and 591 For the metaphorical use of *facies* see on 72, cf. also examples like Verg. G 1,506 and A.6,560 *scelerum facies*.

654 diversae - carinae: the young man is hit simultaneously by the beaks of two ships, probably engaged in ramming each other This bizarre injury resumes and surpasses both the motif of unsuccessful ramming (cf 544-5 where two ships hit each other with their beaks, further 563-5) and the fate of Catus struck by two missiles at the

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[1] *Bracchia iactare* is used in different contexts in e g Lucr 4,769; Sen Nat 7,14,1, Quint Inst 4,2,39

same time (587). The manner of death has been imitated by Sil. 14,481-4. Line 654 is quoted by Lactant. on Stat. Theb.8,218.

As in the case of Catus, the dying process is described minutely while remaining rather abstract[1]. The poet concentrates on isolated, depersonalized parts of the human body, as in many foregoing lines.

655 **discessit medium**: 'was split up in two'. For *discedere* in this sense cf. OLD s.v. 2[2]; *medium* is used predicatively. The extreme violence done to the human body recalls line 638, where Lycidas was torn asunder.

ad ictus: expresses the cause, as in 6,137; cf. OLD s.v. *ad* 33b.

656 **nec prohibere valent...**: the expression is hyperbolical: surely it is not the body's task or intention to prevent the ships from colliding, though *valent* might be taken to imply this. The idea of corpses obstructing ships has been reused from 574-5.

657 **quo - sonent**: the accident is visualized in an almost absurd image: the ships' beaks hit each other within the soldier's chest, producing the same noise as in line 544.

ventre: another word denoting the bowels; see further on 644. For *venter* in a more specific sense, see 724.

658 **eiectat - sanguis**: 'blood mixed with bowels discharges sanies'. According to HOUSMAN the phrase is a 'perissologia' meaning no more than 'sanies eiectatur'. But *sanies* denotes the substance thinner than blood discharged from ulcers or wounds (cf. OLD s.v.; further Cels. 5,26,20) and is not simply the equivalent of *permixtus viscere sanguis*. For the difference between *sanies* and *sanguis* cf. also e.g. Enn. Scen.297 Joc. *saxa spargens tabo sanie et sanguine atro*; in general Cels. 5,26,20.

Still, it is hard to imagine how blood can discharge sanies. The problem would be solved if we adopted with BENTLEY the reading of M, *eiectat sanie permixtus viscera sanguis*. Now *viscera* would be discharged by a mixture of blood and sanies, a slightly more conceivable and no less gruesome image. But there is not enough MSS authority for this; cf. also below on *eiectat* and *viscere*.

The traditional text may be left as it is. Lucan has obviously searched for a new horrific image involving the traditional elements of blood, bowels and sanies, even at the expense of full clarity. For the violent flowing of blood cf. on 639; other blood motifs occurred in e.g. on 572 and 589.

eiectat: some MSS (MZARP) have *electat* (cf. GOTOFF 1971,181), but the reading is certain; cf. also Stat. Theb.9,101 *eiectans saniem*; other examples with blood are listed in TLL V,2,312,42ff.

viscere: the commonly accepted reading of PUV, as opposed to *viscera* of ZMG (cf. also above). It is additionally supported by Serv. on Verg. G.1,139 quoting *permixtus viscere sanguis*, though wrongly attributing it to Lucretius. This error may have arisen from confusion of the present line and Lucr. 2,194-5, as HUDSON-WILLIAMS 1976,130 suggests.

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1. 'Genau ist die Beschreibung keineswegs, sie ist nur detailliert', as METGER 1957,39 rightly remarks.

2. HASKINS renders 'disappeared', but this is not appropriate.

659 **postquam inhibent remis**: *inhibere remis* is a nautical expression, meaning 'to back water'. In Cic. de Orat.1,153 the phrase is mistakingly taken as 'to stop rowing'. Later Cicero learned the correct meaning from sailors: Cic. Att.13,21,3, but the mistake is made again by Quint. Inst.12 proem.4. Most MSS read *remos* here, which is not impossible, *inhibere remos* being a variant form of the expression. But editors generally prefer *remis* (found in MZV). In both cases *puppes* is best taken as the subject of the verbs, especially considering the context (e.g. 654); only BOURGERY thinks the rowers are the subject of *inhibent*. For the move and its function see on 545 *in puppem rediere*; for the present expression cf. e.g. Liv. 26,39,12; 30,10,17; 37,30,10; Curt. 4,4,9; Just. 2,12,7. For *postquam* with a praesens cf. Ov. Met.11,680; 15,628; LHS II,598.

rostra reducunt: a number of MSS (MZQYEWJ; cf. GOTOFF 1971,117) read *recedunt*, but *reducunt* is commonly accepted. It is conceivable that Lucan misinterpreted *inhibent remis* like Cicero and Quintilian see above). In that case, the two phases of the move described in this line would be clearly distinct. But considering Lucan's great interest in nautical terminology he is not likely to have been wrong here. The second expression clarifies and visualizes the more difficult first one, another fine example of Lucan's paraphrase technique.

660 **deiectum in pelagus**: the victim was already swimming in the sea when he was struck. Now he sinks below the surface of the water. For *deicere* cf. also Van Dam on Stat. Silv.2,6,25-8.

perfosso pectore: a harsh but adequate phrase, as in 6,253; Vergil seems to have been the first to use the verb for the action of a weapon (in A.11,10; cf. also A.9,445 *confossus*); LYNE 1989,112-3. For the persistent *p-* allitteration cf. on 370.

661 **vulneribus - aquas**: for the imagery of blood and water, cf. on 577. The present notion returns in Sil. 14,550. *Vulneribus* is ablative of place here. For *transmisit aquas* cf. 7,623-4 *qui pectore tela / transmittant*; Stat. Theb.9,105; Sil. 2,199.

pars - turbae: the drowning sailors in this third strange incident in the section 647-69 belong to a different crew than those in 647-52. They are slightly less anonymous: soon we will learn that they are Greeks; cf. on 647 and 667. The ending *pars maxima turbae* is also used in 7,656; 844 and 10,402; cf. further in a similar context Ov. Met.1,311.

662 **morti obluctata**: contrary to the unnatural struggle of line 646, this fight is normal: men are opposing death.

663 **ad auxilium concurrit**: 'crowded to get help from' (DUFF).

illis: the correct reading is given only by MP, other MSS writing *illi*. Syntactically, *illis* must be connected with *impia - lacertos* (666).

664 **robora - ulnis**: the men try to take hold of a ship, as was done by Catus in 586 and the anonymous twin brother in 610-1. *Robora* here designates the gunwale of a ship; cf. also 570. *Vetitis... ulnis* 'with forbidden arms' is rather condensed; the phrase implies that the sailors were warned not to try and climb up the ship (a move suggested in *altius*).

665 **nutaretque ratis**: due to the drowning men's action, the ship threatens to capsize, as happened in 649-52.

populo: here *populus* is the equivalent of *multitudo*. For this post-Augustan use, Schmidt on 10,127 compares Liv. 22,7,6; Ov. Met.4,442; Ep. 14,115; Sen. Nat.1,5,5.

666 **impia turba**: cf. Hor. S.2,3,228; Tib. 1,3,70; Ov. Met.3,629. For the implication of *impia* see below on 667.

super - lacertos: another motif used again and varied: in 611-2 and 617, a soldier's arms were cut off by the enemy. Here this is done on a larger scale to an entire crew by colleagues of a fellow ship. *Super* is not a preposition here but an adverb.

667 **bracchia linquentes...**: this motif is given another twist as well. The twin brother's right arm was said to continue its action (cf. 612), but here the attention is directed to the soldiers themselves. This detail of their leaving their arms hanging on the ship prepares the exquisite paradox of 668: they literally 'fall from their arms'.

Graia: not until now does the ship appear to be Greek; by consequence, its crew as well as the drowning men must both have been Massilians. By now, the difference between Greeks and Romans has become much less relevant to the poet. Civil war has blurred the clear distinction between right and wrong. Thus the Greeks, who are favoured throughout the Massilia-section, are now presented as committing impious acts[1].

668 **cecidere**: for the paradox, see above on 667. Cf. further on 572 *cecidere*.

669 **sustinuere - truncos**: we are reminded of the traditional motif of 'floating bodies'; cf. e.g. Hom. Il.21,301-2; Od.12,418-9; Verg. A.1,106; 118-9; Sil. 6,12-3. But missing their arms, the soldiers are unable to swim, and drown. *Trunci* is significant. At this stage, they are no longer considered as persons, but merely as sinking objects; cf. also on 646 and for *truncus* on 642.

670 **iamque omni...**: after the violent incidents in the water described in 647-69, now the fighting develops into outright rage[2], soldiers trying every possible means to find new missiles. They literally demolish their ships and also reuse missiles stuck into the bodies of other soldiers or even themselves (670-9); on this scene see NOWAK 1955,86-7; METGER 1957,30-1 and 70. The poet no longer gives any indication as to the nationality of the victims: there is no distinction any more between Massilians and Caesareans.

For the idea of improvised weapons cf. 6,169-79 (Scaeva raging against the enemy); further Verg. A.2,445-9; Sil. 6,45-8. Here, Lucan may have been especially inspired by A. Pers. 425-6, where parts of ships are used to strike the enemy. But as usual, this model is surpassed too: here the ships are deliberately damaged for the same purpose. Lucan's text has been imitated by Sil. 14,543-9.

omni fusis: two words presenting uncertainty in the MSS. *Omni* is the accepted reading of G (after a correction); all other MSS read *omnis* (but with *s* in rasura in M). For *fusis*, ZU and perhaps G give *fusus*; cf. GOTOFF 1971,118.

nudato milite: explained by *fusis... telis*: the soldiers have run out of missiles.

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1. Ironically, the Greek Cynaegirus had been the victim of such acts (see on 609). Lucan may have intended the contrast.

2. Cf. 7,532 *perdidit inde modum caedes.*

671 **invenit arma furor**: the half line recalls Verg. A.1,150 *furor arma ministrat*; 7,508 *telum ira facit*; cf. further Stat. Theb.10,407; Sil. 6,46-7.

672 **hi**: the best reading here, found in some younger MSS; the older ones give *hic*, probably due to the preceding *alter*. For the alternation of singular and plural, HOUSMAN compares 687-8 and Ov. Tr.2,486-8.

totum: AvQVEW give *tortum*; cf. GOTOFF 1971,158. Though it is not impossible, it may be simply an error due to *contorsit* in 671.

aplustre: cf. on 586. By contrast, soldiers do not hold on to the *aplustre* as Catus did, but tear it off and hurl it at the enemy.

validis...lacertis: for the combination see 2,502 and 686. This is the third occurrence of *lacertus* at the end of the verse within 11 lines (see 662 and 666).

673 **avulsasque**: the word recalls the fate of Lycidas in 635-46. He was torn asunder in 638 *scinditur avulsus*. The parallel seems intended; cf. on 674.

rotant: the normal verb for swinging round a missile. It is hard to imagine even strong men swinging rowers' banks in cooperation. The exaggerated idiom seems to be modelled on Verg. A.9,441 *rotat ensem*; 10,577; cf. also Laus.Pis. 178 *arma... rotare lacertis*; Sil. 2,242-3.

excusso remige: the rowers are driven from their banks (*transtra*, a word used in 543) presumably by soldiers. Most MSS read *expulso* here, which is printed in nearly all modern editions of Lucan. The reading *excusso* of Z²ABREW (cf. GOTOFF 1971,118) has been restored by SHACKLETON BAILEY, following CORTIUS. This has been welcomed even by BADALI 1989,163, who tends to be critical of SHACKLETON BAILEY's interventions in the text. Both readings make excellent sense[1], but *excusso* may be defended as 'lectio difficilior'.

674 **in pugnam - rates**: after the steady increase of pathos from the oars in 671 to the *aplustre* and *transtra* in 672-3, now a climax is reached: the ships are completely demolished. Servius quotes the phrase in his note to A. 2,446, and notices the paradox: these are the very vessels the soldiers are defending[2]. Ironically, the same thing happens to the ships as to the men in the previous scenes, whose limbs were cut off or who got torn asunder (cf. also on 673). In this extreme conflict, ships no less than men lose their unity, identity, and natural function.

in: used in final sense; see on 311.

sidentia - tenent: 'corpses sinking to the bottom were grabbed'; for the use of *pessum* 'to the bottom', cf. e.g. Lucr. 6,588-9; Aetna 137-8; Sen. Dial.2,2. *Sidentia - tenent* is quoted by Prisc. GLK 2,515,8; 521,26.

675 **spoliant ferro**: the phrase develops *sidentia - tenent*: corpses are stripped of the weapons which have killed them. Tearing out missiles from wounds is a regular action in epic; cf. e.g. Hom. Il.4,213; Verg. A.10,744.

676 **inopes teli**: 'lacking a weapon'.

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1. *Excusso* by no means implies that rowers are thrown into the sea, as OUDENDORP says.

2. In his reworking of the Lucanean section, Silius has even imitated this phrase: 14,548 *frangendae in vulnera prorae*.

iaculum - suis: a variation of the epic motif of the previous line: soldiers tear out weapons from their own body. For the idea cf. Ov. Met.2,606; 4,120; Sil. 2,323. As the weapons here were deadly (*letale*), this is another desperate attempt at achieving something even while dying. *Multi* shows once again that the poet is not interested in the fate of individuals, but only in presenting spectacular manners of death.

678 **oppressere manu**: HÜBNER 1976b,304 thinks that Lucan is referring to a method of checking the blood flow from a wound, along with 7,566 *vulnera... opposita premit ipse manu*. But this assumes a medical precision which would be quite exceptional in epic poetry[1]. It seems best to take this phrase to mean simply that the warriors hold back their entrails with their hands, as in Hom. Il.20,418. *Laeva* is a relevant detail: they use their right hands for their final attacks.

validos - sanguis: 'as long as their blood would enable them to deal heavy blows'. For the expression HASKINS compares 4,286-7.

679 **et hostilem - hastam**: literally 'and would flow, after having pushed out the lance'. A rather curious phrase. The subject still is *sanguis*, but it is not supposed to push out the lance literally from the veins, as in 590, the lances having already been torn from the wounds in 677. The blood represents the vital force of the body, causing its movements; cf. also on 640. A free translation then would be: '... and would enable them to hurl back the enemy's lance before flowing out.' The complex word order is probably deliberate, expressing the exceedingly great effort made by the soldiers. For *hastam*, read by most MSS as well as Lactant. on Stat. Theb.8,727 who quotes *hostilem - hastam*, ZMP have *hostem*, which does not make sense here[2].

680 **nulla tamen...**: in lines 680-96, the last part of 647-96, the destruction reaches a new climax with the outbreak of fire. Men are presented as fighting not only with other men, but also with the conflicting elements of fire and water. The fire motif is absent from Caesar's account of the naval battles and seems to have been introduced for poetical reasons.

There is an obvious parallel to the final scene of the land battle, where a similar deliberate use of fire brought about a climax (498-508). But the pathos is much greater here: the damage is not merely material, but many human lives are claimed. Furthermore, victims and aggressors can no longer be distinguished, which creates an impression of anonymous, massive destruction. Perhaps most importantly, nature as a whole is now involved: the struggle of fire to water implies truly cosmic

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1. According to ADAMS 1980,62n36, medical knowledge is not deliberately displayed in Latin epic.

2. Z^2ABR have the impossible compromise *hastem*; cf. GOTOFF 1971,118.

dimensions of the conflict[1]. On this scene cf. METGER 1957,44-6; OLIVER 1972,328-330.

The use of fire in naval combats (so called 'Greek fire') was not new: in the 2nd cent.B.C. the Rhodians won spectacular victories by hanging blazing fire pots in front of their galleys. Later attempts usually involved the use of inflammable materials like *bitumen*. However, the use of fire on wooden ships was extremely dangerous and remained limited, not developing into a major mode of warfare until the early Byzantine period; cf. CASSON 1971,123 and 152-3; VIERECK 1975,116-9. For the use of fire arms against ships during the civil war, cf. 10,491-503; Caes. Civ.3,101; B.Alex.14. For ships set on fire in epic, cf. e.g. Hom. Il.16,112-29; Verg. A.5,641-84; 9,69-76.

hoc...aequore: usually translated as a case of metonymy, 'in this naval battle'.

681 **pelago diversa lues**: 'a destructive force opposite to the sea', a periphrasis for fire. For the opposition cf. A. Ag.650-1, a parallel adduced by HASKINS.

pinguibus...taedis: torches may be called greasy because of the inflammable materials put onto them; see Lucr. 5,296; Sil. 14,427; cf. also Verg. A.6,214. For the idiom in lines 681-4 cf. also Verg. G.3,449-50 *et sulfura viva / Idaeasque pices et pinguis unguine ceras*; Ov. Met. 3,374-5: *cum summis circumlita taedis / admotas rapiunt vivacia sulphura flammas*. For torches used in battle scenes in BC, cf. 6,135; 10,491-2.

682 **tecto sulpure**: the phrase has considerably puzzled scholars for many generations. It has generally been understood as referring to a coating of sulphur on the torch, and the Latin expression has been variously emended or explained to produce this meaning; cf. e.g. OLLFORS 1967b,19-21[2]. Other, wilder suggestions have been made as well: thus PHILIPPS 1964 suggested that Lucan imitated Sen. Med.825 *sulphure tectos... ignes* and 'did not realize what he had written'; OLIVER 1972,330-4 adduces Veget. Mil.4,18 and Amm.Marc. 23,4,14, two difficult late Latin texts on fire weapons actually carrying their fuel inside something like a hollow pipe.

However, a much more satisfying, simple solution is possible. Lucan is probably referring to sulphur hidden in a very literal sense by the fire: the fire is so bright that the underlying surface of the torch can no longer be seen. For this interpretation see also SHACKLETON BAILEY 1987,78-9 and WIDDOWS, who renders 'kept alive by the sulphur / hidden beneath the flames'. Lucan is certainly not wrong

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1. SCHÖNBERGER 1968,101 wrongly regards the present passage as a motif of fire with miraculous components, repeated to express Fortuna's anger at the nocturnal fire near Massilia. But there is no hint here of unnatural features, Fortuna's anger, or, indeed, Fortuna. Considering the important differences between both scenes, Lucan is also doing much more than 'repeating' the motif.

2. For the odd use of *tegere* OLLFORS compares the constructions of verbs like *circumdare*, and translates 'nachdem Schwefel deckend aufgestrichen worden war'. But the parallels he adduces for this use of *tegere* involve further problems.

or vague here, as even SHACKLETON BAILEY maintains[1]. In the sentence *nam - spargitur*, the poet is concentrating not on the torch, but on the fire. It is clearly seen from outside, being 'attached to the greasy torches'. That image is continued and ingeniously varied in this second phrase. Cf. also the parallel with a detail in the land battle (cf. above on 680), *armisque coruscas / nocturni texere faces* (498-9): as the soldiers' shields covered the torches, so the flames cover their fuel.

sulpure: also written as *sulphur* or *sulfur*. On the material see Plin. Nat.35,174-7.

vivax: of fire, as in Aetna 41; Sen. Dial.6,23,4; Med.826.

683 **faciles - carinae**: the subject of *rapuere incendia*. We find *facilis* in ZMABU and *carinas* in ZM; in these MSS the construction was apparently not understood. An infinitive with *facilis* is not as unusual as with *habiles* in 553.

alimenta: designates fuel for the fire, as in e.g. Liv. 27,3,3; Ov. Met.14,532 *picem et ceras alimentaque cetera flammae*; Man. 1,821; further TLL I,1586,70ff.

684 **pice...cera**: pitch and wax were used to smear the seams or the whole hull of a ship as a protective coating. Cf. 10,493-4 (wax); further e.g. Verg. A.4,398 *uncta carina*; Ov. Met.11,514-5; V.Fl. 1,478-80; Plin. Nat.16,56; Veget. Mil.4,44. The wax was also coloured in a process of encaustic painting; Plin. Nat.35,149; Veget. Mil.4,37; see further CASSON 1971,211-2.

rapuere incendia: 'caught fire', as in 10,499; further Ov. Met.3,374; 15,350; Am. 3,10,27; Sen. Her.O.1639; cf. also *rapiensque incendia ventus* in line 501; further 503. For *rapere* see on 116; cfr also on 278 *aufertur*.

685 **nec - undae**: it is not impossible that Lucan is referring to highly inflammable materials against which water was ineffective. However, the detail is more likely to be poetical than technical: the fire cannot be extinguished by the waves because it is too great.

686 **iam - ignis**: the repeated *f* and *s* consonants seem to express the sound of the fire, which is personified here.

687 **hic...hi**: for the alternation of singular and plural see on 672. Lines 687-90 exploit the possibilities for paradox inherent in the complex situation: water may be used to escape from the flames or vice versa. For other doubled death motifs see on 579.

recipit: according to HOUSMAN, the implied subject is a ship's captain taking water into his burning ship. But Lucan is less precise here, not specifying his subject and using the rather vague verb *recipere*. His phrase may just as well describe a sailor or a soldier acting on his own. The fire he is trying to extinguish may be on a ship, but also on a wreck, as METGER 1957,45n1 argues, pointing to lines 686 and 688. Another possibility is that the man is on fire himself. In the context, the extreme reactions of soldiers to their own imminent death are described. Here, a contrast seems to be created between the strictly personal dangers of burning alive and drowning (cf. *ne mergantur* in the next line).

flammas: the MSS show several variants which have all been generally rejected: *flammis* (M), *fauces* (A^{c}QGPV^{2}) and even *faces* (E); cf. GOTOFF 1971,159.

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[1]. Curiously, he returns to the idea of PHILLIPS 1964 that Lucan did not fully understand the words of Sen. Med.825.

688 tabulis: boards or planks of a ship, already called *fragmenta* two lines before. The word is used in a similar context in 10,494 *manantes cera tabulas*. For *tabulis... haerent* cf. Oct.324-5, in another shipwreck scene.

689 mille - mori: the paradox of the variously conflicting dangers of water and fire comes to a climax: soldiers fear only the sort of death they have begun to die. By implication, they are prepared to die in any other way. For the thought cf. Curt. 4,16,17 *ubi intravit animos pavor, id solum metuunt, quod primum formidare coeperunt*[1]. For *mille modos leti* cf. 634 *vani miracula fati*; further Tib. 1,3,50; Sen. Phaed.551 *mille formas mortis*; Carmen de Bell.Actiac. V,8 *omne vagabatur leti genus, omne timoris*; Stat. Theb.9,280 *mille modis leti miseros mors una fatigat*; Sil. 4,591. *Mille* stands for an indefinitely great number. The line is quoted by Lactant. on Stat. Theb 9,280.

una many paradoxes in BC are based on the elementary structure 'one (*solus* or *unus*) against or above the rest'. In BC 3 cf. 148-9, further e.g 2,113-4, 143-4; 4,565-6, 5,574-5, 9,299, 379-80, see MORETTI 1984,40-4. The underlying model is Verg. A.2,354 *una salus victis nullam sperare salutem*.

690 qua coepere mori: for the ablative here cf. 10,519 *Magni morte pent* 'he died the death of Magnus'.

naufraga virtus: the notion of shipwreck[2] is repeatedly exploited by Lucan for striking combinations and curious paradoxes as here; cf. e g. 1,503; 4,87-8; 5,455; 493-4, 699.

691 tela - ministrant: even while drowning or burning to death, soldiers go on fighting. In doing so they even reuse weapons floating on the sea, a motif taken again from 674-9 and varied.

ratibusque ministrant: 'handed them up to the men on the ships'. There is a close cooperation of the crews on the ships and their comrades lying in the water. This is rather different from what happened in 661-9. *Ratibus* is used metonymically.

692 incertasque - exercent: in addition to handing over missiles to their comrades standing on the ships, the soldiers try to deal blows themselves. However, *incertas* and *ictu languente* suggest that they hardly succeed in achieving this. The sentence is quoted by Lactant. on Stat. Theb.5,384.

693 datur si copia ferri: the phrase recalls formulaic expressions like Verg. A.1,520 and 11,248 *et coram data copia fandi*; A.9,720 *quoniam data copia pugnae*.

694 utuntur pelago: another paradox, the sea being turned into a weapon. When short of weapons, the men in the water have only one method left: in the very moment of drowning they can achieve something by dragging down their enemies with them. For the idea of killing while dying, see on 626. Lucan's lines have been imitated by Sil. 4,589-90 and 15,552-4.

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[1] By contrast, cf Sen Phoen 181 where Oedipus addresses himself *hac parte mortem perage qua coepi mori*

[2] The use of the term in this context is not surprising Fire was one of the main causes of shipwreck in antiquity.

695 saevus complectitur...: both the word order and the rhythm of 694-6 reproduce the climax expressed in the words; cf. the strikingly juxtaposed *hostem / hostis* and the effective hyperbaton *implicitis... membris*. In addition, there is a special sound effect, produced by the repeated *m* consonant; cf. especially the allitteration of the final three words.

gaudent: joy is a very suspect emotion in BC; cf. already on 82 and 360. For the connection of joy and death cf. e.g. 4,278; 520; 570 *mortem sentire iuvat*; 7,602-3. The combination is not merely paradoxical as BROUWERS 1982b,78 says, but is intimately related to the concept of *amor mortis*, for which see on 134 and 240.

696-751 Many more single combats take place.

(1) Summary:
Phoceus, Tyrrhenus, Lygdamus and Argus all fall during the battle. Finally, while Argus is dying, his father commits suicide in two manners.
(2) Structure:
Following the single combats in 583-646 and the mass scenes in 647-96, a second series of single combats concludes the fights near Massilia. As in the previous sections, the inner structure is quite clear: (i) Phoceus (696-708); (ii) Tyrrhenus and Lygdamus (709-22); (iii) Argus and his father (723-751). The last scene is the longest and most important one. The first one on Phoceus is varied by some short images of general fighting in 705-8.
(3) Historical material:
These scenes seem to have no historical basis.
(4) Literary material:
In general see on 583-646 (4). But here the scenes are slightly more connected with each other because of the relation between the protagonists: Lygdamus hits Tyrrhenus, who in his turn hits Argus, which causes the death of his father. This 'chain fight' is a subtype of Homeric catalogues in fights, not used by Vergil; cf. e.g. Il.13,576-672; 14,440-507; cf. HEINZE 1915,195-6; further KÜHLMANN 1973,41. The scene with Argus' father is disproportionately long, and reveals both the poet's interest in spectacular forms of death and his search for pathos and allusions to Vergilian models; see on 723.

697 eximius...animam servare: 'especially good at holding his breath'. The construction of *eximius* with an infinitive is exceptional: no parallel is given by TLL V,1492,64f. In the two parallels for *unus eximius* adduced by HASKINS (Cic. Div.Caec.52; Liv. 9,34,11) the word has a different meaning. The phrase is quoted by Lactant. on Stat. Theb.9,238.

The person described here is a nautical expert, a diver. He may be compared to the steersman Telo in 592-9 who was introduced in similar terms (for the parallel see also on 704). Divers appealed to the ancients' fantasy, and several stories are told in which they play the main role, e.g. Hdt. 8,8 on the diver Skyllias or the amusing story about Antonius and Cleopatra fishing in Plu. Ant.29. Professional

divers were employed not only during naval fights, but also in harbours, near docks and in salvage operations[1]. Others earned their living by diving for sponges, shellfishes, algas and the like; cf. already Hom. Il.16,745-50. On diving in general see MEHL 1927,111-4; FROST 1968. Extensive descriptions of divers in didactic poetry are found in Opp. H.5,612-74 and Man. 5,431-35, a passage which has certainly influenced Lucan (see on 698); cf. further the diver in Sil. 3,320-1.

Phoceus: probably the diver's name, as SHACKLETON BAILEY notes, and not an adjective indicating his Massilian origin (cf. on 301), as HOUSMAN and others have supposed. Throughout the Massilia section, characters are either anonymous or bear a proper name, but are nowhere merely called Greek or Roman. Though *Phoceus* is usually an adjective, it is actually a proper name in V.Fl. 3,204. It may even be possible that Lucan alludes to a seal-like ability of the diver, *phoca* being the Latin word for 'seal'. This has recently been suggested by HOLMES 1991,272-3, who refers to Phocaean coinage reflecting the same link.

698 **scrutarique - harenis**: 'to examine the sea, if it had swallowed anything in its sands'. Phoceus' skill as a diver has already been illustrated in *animam servare sub undis*, but receives further attention in 698-9. The expression resembles Man. 5,435 *atque imas avidi scrutantur harenas*, a line in his section on divers. Cf. also BC 9,755 *scrutatur venas penitus squalentis harenae*. Forms of *harena* nearly invariably appear at this position in the verse (62 out of 62 cases in BC, 40 out of 40 in Vergil; 36 out of 37 in Ovid; cf. OLLFORS 1967,76). For *scrutari* cf. Dewar on Stat. Theb.9,244.

699 **nimis affixos - morsus**: 'to wrench out hooks too tightly fastened'. The hooks, here poetically described as *unci morsus* 'grippings of a hook', belong to an anchor, not mentioned until the next line. The expression is closely modelled on Verg. A.1,169 *unco non alligat ancora morsu*. The infinitive is still dependant on *eximius* of 697.

700 **adductum - funem**: the diver is employed when the anchor cannot be lifted by means of the rope. For the phrase cf. 4,454 *adducto fune*.

anchora: ancient anchors were often made of iron, lead or stone, and many of them have been found[2]; for details cf. CASSON 1971,252-7; VIERECK 1975,27.

701 **hic ubi...**: lines 701-2 are rather succinct: Phoceus seizes one of the foes, drags him down into the sea, and drowns him. The success of his operation is implied in the word *victor*. Since as a diver he can hold his breath for a considerable time, he manages to swim to the surface again; see further on 704. For *comprensum* of U all other MSS give *compressum*, which makes no sense here; the same error is made in 7,363 and 8,681.

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1. In some places divers seem to have been organised in guilds. This is attested to e.g. for Ostia. On the Latin word for divers, *urinatores*, cf. especially OLESON 1976.

2. Most normal anchors were made of wood, and heavy materials were attached to them when they were used.

702 summas - in undas: this will turn out to be an imperfectum de conatu[1], since Phoceus does not actually reach the surface. For the phrase cf. Man. 5,609 *summasque iterum remeavit ad undas*; for the verb cf. also on 73.

703 vacuos...fluctus: i.e. water not occupied by ships, as in 546.

704 puppibus occurrit: tragically, Phoceus hits the bottom of a ship with his head, and does not survive the blow.

tandemque - mansit: 'and stayed under water for good'. In his final hour, Phoceus is not simply obstructed in practising his profession like Telo was in 599. He does employ his talents, but in a perverted form, for the purpose of drowning an enemy. In addition, he is said to remain in the element which best suits him. The irony is particularly grim: he will be a diver forever.

705 hi...: lines 705-8 form an interlude of massive fighting. The image is short, but impressive: men try to stop hostile ships with their own bodies, blocking the oars with their arms, or nailing down their wounded bodies to hostile beaks, thereby reducing their impact. In the Massilia scene, this represents a new excess of fighting, coming close to suicide. Only the twin brother's final action in 622-7 was somewhat similar. *Hi* probably takes up *hic* of 701, changing the singular to a plural.

iecerunt: several MSS (MZABRW; cf. GOTOFF 1971,159) read *legerunt*, which can hardly be correct here. The reading is also mentioned in the Adn., but editors do not record it, except FRANCKEN.

bracchia remos: for the ending cf. Verg. A.5,136; V.Fl. 6,326[2].

706 non perdere letum: 'not to waste death', a highly pathetic and paradoxical expression. Eagerness to fight and readiness to die (cf. i.a. on 134) have become obsessive to the point of absurdity. For the idea cf. Sen. Her.O.1205-6 *perdidi mortem, hei mihi, totiens honestam*; Ag.519 *perdenda mors est?*; further Sil. 4,605.

707 maxima cura fuit: a phrase from elegy; cf. Prop. 2,16,2; Ov. Ep.16,198; Tr.3,11,70. *Cura* is also constructed with an infinitive in 1,638-9; 7,142; further Enn. Ann.133 Sk.; Verg. G.1,51-2; Tib. 1,9,51; Stat. Theb.4,559-60. For *cura* cf. also on 52.

multus: the plural of *hi* is changed into the singular. For the singular *multus* cf. also on 411 *plurimi*.

sua vulnera - affixit: 'attached their wounds to a ship', a strange phrase, forming a new climax of the motif of isolation of human limbs: even the wounds are employed in the fight[3]. Probably, we should take *vulnera* metonymically as 'wounded bodies', as e.g. DUFF, LUCK and CANALI do. For this use of *vulnera* cf. Ov.

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1. It is not an iterative imperfect, as LUNDQVIST 1907,25 argues. Lines 701-2 no longer picture Phoceus' skill in general, as 697-700, but describe one single act during the naval battle.

2. Neither the present text nor Vergil's is mentioned by SCHUMANN 1983 s.v..

3. METGER 1957,65 feels quite shocked about it, calling it a 'geradezu sadistisches Bild' and 'eine Ausgeburt einer verstiegenen Phantasie'. Nevertheless, he acknowledges the poet's consistency and clear intentions.

Met 15,92-3 *nil te nisi tristia mandere saevo / vulnera dente iuvat*, a parallel noticed by FLETCHER 1988,134.

We may ask ourselves which ships are meant by *puppi*. It seems natural that they are the ships to which the sailors belong themselves: they oppose their bodies to the hostile beaks in defence of their own ships; cf. e.g. DUFF, BOURGERY; WIDDOWS. But they may also be the hostile ships; the impact of the hostile beaks is then reduced by men willingly clinging onto them; for this more ingenious solution cf. EHLERS ('spießten sich ... auf ein Schiff und nahmen seinem Sporn die Stoßkraft')[1].

708 **moriens**: a substantive according to HOUSMAN, comparing Juv. 3,232.

rostris: probably referring to ships of the enemy, see above on 707.

709 **stantem sublimi...**: in lines 709-51 we meet individual fighters again. In the first scene, 709-722, Lygdamus and Tyrrhenus are opposed. In the Massilia scene, they are the first who belong to the Homeric tradition of pairs of fighters; for the notion of 'chain fights' cf. on 696-751 (4). However, it is not clear as yet to which parties these men belong: only from *Phocaicis* in 728 we can deduce that Tyrrhenus is a Roman. In addition, we hear nothing more about the winner Lygdamus, but a lot about the victim Tyrrhenus. Therefore, this is still quite far removed from a Homeric single combat.

stantem: the accusative is dependent on *petens* 711. For the position of Tyrrhenus on the ship, cf. 570-1, for *stare* cf. e.g. on 117. In the naval battle the word is used quite frequently: cf. also 603; 713 and 726.

Tyrrhenum: not an adjective, as in e.g. 2,210 and often in Vergil (cf. ERNOUT 1957,II,233-6), but a proper name of a Roman soldier. The same name was used by Verg. A.11,612 for an aggressive Etruscan soldier.

710 **Lygdamus**: another name, with strong echoes of Roman elegy: in Propertius it repeatedly occurs as the name of a slave, cf. 3,6, 4,7, 4,8, and it is also used as the name of the author of book 3 in the *Corpus Tibullianum*. Since Tyrrhenus is a Roman, Lygdamus must belong to the Massilian side.

excussa: to be taken with *glande petens*. Most MSS read *excussae* here, wrongly taking it with *habenae*, which are certainly not thrown themselves. *Excussa*, added by a second writer in M, is printed in most recent editions[2].

Balearis tortor habenae: 'whirler of the Balearic sling'. Balearic slingers were famous in antiquity; in Latin poetry cf. e.g. 1,229 *et torto Balearis verbere fundae*; Verg. G.1,309 *stuppea torquentem Balearis verbera fundae*, Ov. Met.2,727-8, 4,709-10; Sil. 1,314, Stat. Theb 10,857. In the present case, *Balearis* might also be a nominative with *tortor*; for this cf. Sil. 5,193, 9,233, Stat. Ach 2,134. However, most translators (except WIDDOWS) render it as a genitive with *habenae*. *Habena* is originally the

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[1] LUCK wants to have it both ways 'indem er seinen Leib von den Schiffen aufspießen läßt'

[2] Only LUCK and GRIFFA, following HOSIUS, retain *excussae*. GRIFFA adds that it must be taken as enallage with *glande*

thong of a sling (cf. OLD s.v. 3a), but here used for the sling itself; for details on the weapon see VIERECK 1975,94 (with illustration).

711 **glande**: a lead bullet, as in 7,513; Lucr. 6,178-9 and Verg. A.7,686-7.

solido - plumbo: 'smashed his hollow temples with solid lead'. Rhythm, assonance and word order all contribute to express the violence of the event. Tyrrhenus is hit in his temples, a traditionally vulnerable spot; cf. also 6,193-4; 9,824[1]. For the expression *cava tempora* cf. e.g. Lucr. 6,1194; Verg. A.9,633; 808; 10,891; Germ. Arat.56; Ov. Met.2,625; 7,313; Stat. Theb.1,418. Here Lucan's main model seems to be Verg. A.9,587-9: *ipse ter adducta circum caput egit habena / et media adversi liquefacto tempora plumbo / diffidit*. But the poet has fused it with other motifs, cf. notes below.

712 **sedibus - oculi**: 'after the blood broke all the ligaments, his eyes, driven from their sockets, ran out'. The violent image of line 711 is combined with another traditional horrific element, that of eyes gouged out. The motif may be seen in any version of the Oedipus tale, like Sen. Oed.962-79, or the story of Odysseus and the Cyclops. But it equally occurs in battle scenes as early as in Homer, e.g. Il.13,616-7; 16,741-2; further e.g. Lucr. 3,563-4; Ov. Met.12,252 *exsiluere oculi*; 268-70; 13,561-4[2]. Elsewhere Lucan seems just as eager to exploit the motif as here: cf. 2,184-5; 6,216-9, where Scaeva tears out one of his eyes along with an arrow, and treads both with his foot; and 6,541-2, where the witch Erictho takes out eyeballs from corpses. For the whole phrase cf. Sen. Oed.955 *oculi... sedibus pulsi suis*. For the force of the blood cf. the image of blood pushing out weapons from the body, cf. on 590.

713 **vincula**: ligaments, here of the eye; cf. 6,217 *nervorum... vincula*; 9,777; further OLD s.v.4b.

procurrunt oculi: cf. above on 712.

stat...attonitus: quite unlike Homeric heroes, Tyrrhenus does not fall down once he is hit, but keeps on standing upright in a frozen movement. Shortly, he will continue to fight, acting more like a machine than a human being. Similarly, Scaeva *stat non fragilis... murus* (6,201); and we are also reminded of the actions of the twin brother in the previous scenes; cf. METGER 1957,68-9; OPELT 1957,441-2. For the phrase cf. also 7,339-40 *stat... attonitus*; for standing cf. on 709; for *attonitus* on 98.

714 **mortisque...tenebras**: for a few moments, Tyrrhenus is not aware of what has happened and thinks he is already dead. For the darkness of unconsciousness and death, see also 734.

715 **membris**: although *sensit* implies subjectivity, *membris* may be taken as indication that the victim is becoming alienated from his own body: he notices that 'its limbs' retain their strength.

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1. In the latter case, Lucan has varied the motif: a soldier's temples are pierced by an African serpent.

2. Vergil seems to have avoided this sort of injury, except when dealing with monsters (e.g. A.8,260-1); cf. ADAMS 1980,50wn2. Injuries to other parts of the human face, such as the nose or the tongue, were equally avoided by Vergil, though not by Homer or Lucan. Vergil's characters tend to be, as ADAMS,59 puts it, 'anatomically shadowy'.

716 **ait**: cf. on 559.

sicut tormenta soletis: sc. *componere*, 'as you are used to place your engines'. Tyrrhenus carries the depersonalisation and alienation of his own body even further, explicitly equating himself to a machine for discharging missiles, which has to be handled by others. On the use of catapults and other war engines on ships cf. MARSDEN 1969,169-73[1]; CASSON 1971,121-2; VIERECK 1975,101-20. *Tormentum* was already used in line 480.

717 **me - telis**: 'place me too in the right position for throwing missiles'. With *rectum* Tyrrhenus does not ask his comrades to put him on his feet again, as BOURGERY wants to have it, since he is still standing (*stat*, 713). Rather he wants to be pointed in the right direction.

mittendis...telis: a dativus finalis of the gerundivum, as in 4,411; 418-9; 7,249; 10,399-400, cases listed by OBERMEIER 1886,43.

718 **egere**: in lines 718-21 Tyrrhenus rises to a new height of pathos, urging himself to spend his last forces on the fight. *Egere* is particularly apt here, having not only the usual meanings of discharging from the body, carrying away or using up, but also the special meaning of carrying out for burial; cf. OLD s.v. 1, 3 and 6. For *animam egerere* cf. also Sen. Ep.54,2.

quod superest animae: the phrase does not refer to the time that is still left, as OLD s.v. *egero* 6c says, but should be taken in a more literal sense. The seriously wounded soldier wants to use whatever remains of his life giving soul. For *anima* in this sense, see on 640.

719 **ingentem - loco**: the final climax of depersonalisation and lust for death in this scene. From the two vague expressions *per omnis bellorum casus* 'on all possible hazards of war' and *ingentem militis usum* 'an important task of a soldier', we might deduce that Tyrrhenus is willing to launch missiles in a final effort. However, he goes one step further than that, claiming to be useful as a target for the enemy's shots. Significantly, he considers himself as a corpse (for the negative associations cf. on 575), eager to be injured instead of a 'living' comrade[2].

721 **viventis**: the participle is substantivated, as *moriens* in 708.

sic fatus - mittit: these words do not illustrate what Tyrrhenus has just said himself, but what has been suggested in 716-7.

722 **caeca...manu**: 'with undirected hand', 'at random'. The combination is not unusal: cf. Ov. Am.2,14,4; Sen. Phaed.979-80; V.Fl. 3,79-80; Stat. Silv.2,6,8-9; further TLL II-

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1. MARSDEN quotes the present passage of Lucan on p.93. In his view, Tyrrhenus is not only pointed in the right direction, but also wants his comardes to observe his performance and tell him what adjustments to make. The text, however, is not explicit on the latter point.

2. Lucan's incessant search for paradox and extravagance has not found much favour with scholars. Thus NARDUCCI 1979,81-2 feels that here the text has involuntarily lapsed into absurdity. Perhaps this is taking things too seriously again. A slight sense of humour might help us more to appreciate the Silver Latin pathos.

I,44,43ff. However, *caeca* is surely ambiguous here, alluding to the soldier's loss of his eyes (712-4): by now, even his hand has become 'blind'[1].

irrita: in 580-2 *irrita tela* injured drowning sailors at random. Here, the image is reversed and varied: *tela* are launched at random, but in hitting people become *non... irrita*.

723 excipit: the chain battle continues, as Tyrrhenus' blindly hurled missiles strike the Massilian soldier Argus. Lucan develops this incident into the last major scene of the naval battle. In several ways it forms its climax, showing the poet's interest in spectacular deaths, pathos and sentiment and his allusions to Vergil; cf. e.g. on 726; 727; 737. Line 723 is missing in the MS P, where another line (quoted by BOURGERY) has been added by a second writer.

iuvenis - Argus: a Vergilian echo may be heard in the name Argus, used in Verg. A.8,346[2]. This Argus is said to be of noble birth, an element adding to the pathos of his death.

724 qua - venter: 'where the lower part of the belly meets the groin' (DUFF). As in the previous scenes, attention is focused not on the attack and the act of wounding, but on what happens to the victim. Here the spot where Argus is hurt is described with the apparent precision traditional in epic; cf. ADAMS 1980,59. *Venter* was already used as a general term for the bowels in 657 (cf. also on 644), but is used in a more specific sense here.

descendit: the reading of most MSS, as well as Prisc. GLK 2,103,16 who quotes the line. Variant readings are *discendit* (Z^2A) and *discedit* (MZQYGV); cf. GOTOFF 1971,118. The latter is printed by BOURGERY and CANALI, but *descendit* is widely accepted.

725 suo...pondere: to be taken with *adiuvit*. Argus falls upon the spear, thus driving it further into his body. For the ending *pondere ferrum* cf. 581.

726 stabat...: at this stage, Argus' father is brought into the scene. After witnessing his son's injury, this old veteran of war hastens towards him (626-32). But he does not display the grief and compassion which may be expected from a father under these circumstances. First, he stiffens and almost faints. On recovering, he does not want to waste time closing his son's eyes. Instead he attempts to kill himself while he may still do so as a father, and by using two methods makes sure that he will succeed (633-51).

In this curious, highly pathetic scene, Lucan appears to be alluding to traditional models of paternal piety, especially those in the *Aeneid*. We may compare Verg. A.11,148-81, where Euander laments the death of Pallas and wants to stay alive to avenge him (cf. also on 747 *superstes*); further A.2,531-46 (Priamus and Polites; cf. also on 748 *capulum*); A.10,833-56 (Mezentius and Lausus). In these cases, the

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1. Not all translators have understood the point here. WIDDOWS has best retained the ambiguity: 'blindly he hurled a spear, and it found a target by hazard'.

2. I do not refer here to the Greek monster Argos, mentioned by Vergil in e.g. 7,791. However, Lucan might have been inspired by its many eyes in choosing a name for the opponent of the blinded Tyrrhenus.

fathers display feelings of love, sorrow and anger at the death of their sons. Here this normal pattern is brutally reversed. The old man even lacks the general qualities of prudence, quietness and spiritual balance commonly ascribed to the old. The image is one of complete reversal: a young man is quietly dying, an old man reacts impulsively and rashly, neglecting his father's duties and wishing to die first. This paradoxical behaviour neatly illustrates once more Lucan's basic paradox of civil war destroying even family ties (cf. also e.g. on 32; 326; 436). On the whole scene cf. METGER 1957,71-3; NEHRKORN 1960,61-62. Scholars have not yet drawn attention to the recurrent motif of blindness; see on 734; 738 and 740.

diversa - carinae: apparently, Argus and his father were on the same Massilian ship. Cf. 518 *grandaevosque senes mixtis armavit ephebis.*

727 **infelix**: the word does not merely anticipate the sinister outcome of the event, as *miseri* did in cases of Telo (592) and the twin brothers' parents (606). It also seems aimed at preparing the reader for a touching piece of sentiment and drama. However, these expectations will be largely disappointed by the poet in the second part of the scene (733-51).

genitor: a word of elevated poetical style, used instead of *pater* (cf. 738). In BC it is used only 5 times, whereas Vergil has no less than 59 cases. So even this seems a trace leading to Vergil.

non ille - armis: a traditional description in traditional words: in his youth he was unsurpassed as a soldier.

728 **Phocaicis**: only now we learn that Argus' father is a Massilian. From here we can reconstruct the nationality of the preceding fighters.

729 **cecidit**: the subject is *robur* 'his strength'. We would have expected a plusquamperfectum here, but, as LUNDQVIST 1907,30 remarks, *cecíderat* does not fit into the hexameter.

fessusque senecta: for *fessus* cf. Verg. A.2,596 *fessum aetate parentem*; Ov. Met.7,163; Stat. Silv.2,4,36; for *fessus senecta* cf. Plin. Nat.8,147 and 224; further TLL VI,610,24ff. In hexameter poetry, *senecta* is used only in casus obliqui instead of *senectus*; cf. OLLFORS 1967,128n7; for a similar phenomenon see also on 301 *iuventus*.

730 **exemplum**: of a person, as in 2,514; 6,234-5; 10,27; cf. also Sen. Con.9,2,23 *aiebat se non esse magistrum sed exemplum*; further Ov. Met.1,366; 12,512; and TLL V,1344,51ff.

funere: here used in the sense of 'death' (cf. OLD s.v. 3). But since Argus is obviously still alive (737-40), we must render the word more freely here, like 'mortal blow' or 'imminent death'.

731 **saepe - puppim**: rhythm and word order, with the hyperbaton *longae... carinae*, reinforce the image of the old man stumbling over the rowers' benches (for which see on 543). There may be an additional point in *saepe cadens*: whereas the victim Argus simply falls down after a deadly blow (725), his old father whose strength has already ceased (*cecidit* 729) 'falls often', and thus might be said to be 'dying more than one death'. This is exactly what he will appear to do in 748-51. His death will be anticipated more directly in 734-6.

732 **ad puppim**: apparently, Argus' father had been standing at the forecastle of the ship.

spirantis... artus: a striking instance of depersonalisation: we do not read that a father sees *his son* being still alive, but how an old man (*senior* 731) comes across 'respiring limbs'.

733 **non lacrimae...**: in this second part of the scene (733-751), the father's reactions become increasingly paradoxical. He does not shed tears or beat his chest, common symptoms of grief and mourning[1]. For the 'negation antithesis' see e.g. on 402. For *pectora tundit* as verse ending cf. e.g. Ov. Met.8,536.

734 **distentis - tenebrae**: Argus' father stretches out his arms, stiffens and everything goes black. These symptoms of fainting are in accordance with Stoic theory, though Lucan is surely not bent on explaining Stoic physiology here; cf. SCHOTES 1969,52-54[2]. For similar effects of stiffening see e.g. 1,246; 4,290; 6,759; 7,466-9. Part of the shock effect is conveyed to the reader by the rapid 'freezing' of the old man's movement which sharply contrasts his hasty stumbling across the ship.

According to the Stoics, fainting and dying are related phenomena; cf. SCHOTES 1969,57. In epic too, loss of sight in particular is a well known sign of either fainting or dying; for the former cf. 5,220; 8,58-9; further e.g. Hom. Il.5,310 *amphi de osse kelainè nux ekalupsen*; 11,356; 14,438-9; for the latter 714; 7,616; further e.g. Hom. Il.4,461 *ton de skotos osse kalupsen*; 4,503; 5,47; 5,659; 6,11; Verg. A.10,746; 12,310[3]. So it seems as if Argus' father is not merely fainting, but approaching death himself. This seems a conscious anticipation of his death; cf. also the possible allusion in 731. In addition, the *tenebrae* coming over him recall the initial motif of blindness (713-5) which was already reused in 722.

sed: for the inverse position, see on 446.

735 **nox subiit**: cf. Ov. Met.7,634; Stat. Theb.3,415.

oculos: ZAB and possibly M (cf. GOTOFF 1971,159) give the variant reading *oculis*, but it is not adopted in any edition.

736 **miserum**: now said of Argus, as of Telo in 592 and the twins' parents in 606; cf. also on 727. Argus is probably not called *miser* because he is dying, since many of his comrades and foes suffer the same thing. But his father's behaviour deprives him of the glory and conspicuousness of death he must have wished to attain. The old man does not pay the normal attention to his son, and indeed hardly even recognizes him, remaining involved with his own experience. Eventually, his spectacular death will overshadow that of his son.

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1. Lucan particularly likes this sort of reversal of normal situations; cf. 2,354-80 on all traditional features absent from the wedding of Cato and Marcia.

2. In cases of external perturbation the *pneuma* was thought to contract, causing phenomena like paleness and stiffening of the extremities. Only when the stiffening ceases, the senses can function again.

3. The motif is also used outside epic; cf. Petr. 19,6.

cernens agnoscere desinit depersonalisation and alienation (cf previous notes, e g. on 715, 716, 719, 732) are carried one step further: a father almost ceases to recognize his own son. Though his eyes still function, he is equally struck with a form of 'blindness'.

737 **caput - colla**: 'his dropping head and already failing neck'. The phrase recalls the description of the death of Euryalus in Verg A 9,433-7, especially 434 *inque umeros cervix conlapsa recumbit* and the image of the drooping flower and poppy plant, NARDUCCI 1979,83n85 also compares the death of Camilla in A.11,829-30. Lucan adds an element by making Argus try to lift his head (*levat*, 738)

738 **viso patre**: unlike Tyrrhenus and his own father, Argus is not struck by any kind of blindness. But lines 738-9 show that other senses are failing he is unable to utter a word. There is no direct communication between the victim and his father

patre: most poets tend to use the common word *pater* more frequently than the poetical synonyms *genitor*, *creator*, *parens* and *sator* taken together, Vergil has 150 cases of the first and 94 of the four others, Ovid 115 as opposed to 92 Lucan forms an exception, with only 17 cases of *pater* but 28 of the four other words, for these and other statistics cf. WATSON 1985,442

vox - prosequitur. 'no sound followed the opened throat'. A rather curious use of *prosequor*, but cf. examples given by OLD s v. *sequor* 8b, and further Ov Met.11,326 *lingua tacet, nec vox temptataque verba sequuntur* Within this book we may compare 505 *(ignis) consequitur volumina fumi* Here too, things have been turned around. Instead of actively producing sound, the body is presented as passive, almost lifeless matter.

739 **tacito - vultu** a sentimental note Argus wants to have the traditional final kiss, cf Eleg Maec 2,9-10 *moriens quaerebat amatae / coniugis amplexus, oscula, verba, manus*. See further below on 745

740 **claudenda ad lumina** probably a final allusion to the blindness motif (cf. above, on 734) Argus still retains his sight, but would like to have his eyes closed at his moment of death.

The custom of closing the eyes of the dead is very old, and is still widespread in modern times. It probably originates in the fear of bad influences death may bring upon the world of the living, cf DEONNA 1958[1], comparing Plin. Nat.11,150 and Ov. Tr.4,3,43-4 To this may be added 5,280 *(liceat) oculos morti clausuram quaerere dextram*, a wish uttered by mutinous soldiers Generally speaking, eyes are important in both ancient and modern magical practice.

dextram· the right hand is the last in a long series of parts of the human body. Within less than 10 lines, Lucan has managed to mention members, cheeks, chest, hands, eyes, head, neck, throat, face and eyes again The resulting impression is one of extreme isolation of body parts and depersonalisation.

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[1] The starting point of this article is BC 2,26 *oculosque in morte minaces*, on which see further Van Campen a l

741 **ut - caruit**: 'as soon as the old man was free of his unconsciousness'. Although he has come very close to death, his senses return, enabling him to deliver a final speech.

cruentus: as adjective of *dolor* we should render the word as 'cruel' or 'savage'; TLL IV,1240,3 gives no parallels for the combination; HASKINS compares Hor. Carm.3,2,11-2 *cruenta... ira*.

742 **dolor**: the subject of the clause. The strength is not returned to the body, as in 715, but is immediately claimed by savage grief overwhelming the person in the old epic fashion.

743 **saevis...deis**: the Gods are called cruel because they take away Argus. For attacks on Fortuna and the Gods, see on 448. *Saevus* is equally used of the Gods in 2,44 *numina saeva* and 7,725 *saevos... divos*.

744 **confodiam**: a harsh word, used only here by Lucan; cf. on 660. The old man says he is going to use his remaining time well by killing himself.

veniam... concede: a more dignified expression than the normal *veniam dare* or *donare* (used in e.g. 1,521; 7,296; 9,227; 10,70); cf. Ov. Tr.2,43-4; Stat. Silv.5,3,264; V.Max. 5,9,pr..

misero: the same word was used by the poet only a few lines ago in relation to Argus. Now the father claims this epithet for himself, rather exaggerating his own misfortune and overshadowing his son's much more acute misery; cf. above, on 736.

745 **quod - fugi**: the father's neglect of paternal duties now becomes explicit. Contrary to expectations, he will not give Argus a final embrace and a final kiss even though he has been asked for it (739)[1]. His behaviour is very strange, since relatives are mostly presented as very eager to show these last signs of love; cf. Man. 5,623-4 *pernoctesque patres cupiunt extrema suorum / oscula*; further Sen. Dial.6,3,2 *ultima filii oscula*; in general on kissing at the hour of death TLL IX,1111,7ff.

As METGER 1957,142n1 points out, kisses in BC are always given unpleasant connotations: cf. 2,114; 4,180; 5,736; 6,564; 10,364-5. Here this is evident even on the idiomatic level. *Oscula* is normally the object of verbs like *dare*, *ferre*, or *iungere*. The junction with the strongly negative *fugere* is unparallelled; cf. TLL VI,1490,21f. Only Hor. C.2,12,25 with *negare* comes anywhere near this. For the combination of final embrace and final kiss, cf. e.g. V.Max.7,1,1 and Eleg.Maec 2,9-10, quoted above on 739.

746 **nondum destituit - sanguis**: for the concept of blood as carrier of the soul cf. on 640. *Calidus* is used of blood as in 1,363; 4,287 and 630; further e.g. Enn. Ann.95 Skutsch; Verg. A.9,422; Ov. Met.1,158; 6,238; Sil. 7,66.

747 **semianimisque**: cf. on 576.

adhuc - superstes: 'you can still survive me'. These words are not ironical or cynical, but the father is completely serious. In the Roman world it was considered a grave misfortune if a parent survived his own child; for this HASKINS compares

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[1]. Notice the exact contrast between *petit oscula* (739) and *oscula fugi*.

Hor. Epod.5,101-2; Cic. N.D.2,72[1]. Cf. further Mezentius surviving Lausus in Verg. Aen.10,846-56; and Euander surviving Pallas in A.11,152-81, especially 160-1 *contra ego vivendo vici mea fata, superstes / restarem ut genitor*; see further above on 726.

748 **quamvis - gladii**: 'although he had stained the hilt of the sword driven into his bowels...'. The father's first attempt at killing himself is only shortly hinted at in a clause. *Capulum* inevitably recalls the dead of Priamus in Verg. A.2,550-3, where his killer Pyrrhus *lateri capulo tenus abdidit ensem* (553); cf. also Ov. Met.12,491-2; V.Max. 9,9,2; Sen. Suas.4,5[2]. For the role of the sword in BC cf. on 570.

missi: the certain reading of most MSS. Variant readings are *missum* (MZY) and *mersi* (GUP); cf. GOTOFF 1971,118.

749 **polluerit**: LUCK and DUFF follow some older editors and younger MSS (RQVW; cf. GOTOFF 1971,197) in printing *polluerat*, but fail to indicate this in their apparatus. All other modern editors prefer *polluerit*, which has far better MSS authority.

tamen - tendit: 'he still directed his course down into the deep water'. In an absurd climax, the old man is not content to kill himself once, but adopts two different methods simultaneously. The idea of a double form of suicide by a stroke of the sword and a jump into the water already occurs in Ov. Met.13,435-8. According to FUHRMANN 1968,54wn85 that passage was Lucan's model; cf. further 2,157-9 with Van Campen's note on 154ff. Lucan doubled the death motif earlier in this book (see on 579 and 687) but the present case is more direct and more striking. For the paradoxes involved in the section cf. above on 726.

750 **letum praecedere**: 'to anticipate death'. For this use of *praecedere* cf. Sen. Ep.71,15. The phrase is dependent on *festinantem animam*, the object of *credidit*.

nati: Lucan never uses *filius*, but prefers *natus*, which occurs 22 times; cf. GREGORIUS 1893,72.

752-762 The outcome of the naval battle.

(1) Summary:

The naval battle comes to an end. The Massilians turn out to have lost. In the town and along the coast, relatives of the fighters are mourning. Some mistake a Roman corpse for a Massilian one or dispute the identity of a trunk. Brutus can claim the first naval victory for Caesar.

(2) Structure:

This short passage concludes Lucan's tale of the naval battle, and book 3 as a whole. It is only loosely connected to the foregoing pictures of *miracula fati* of individuals and groups. Now attention is abruptly shifted to the main strategic

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1. The thought occurs frequently in Roman sepulchral inscriptions.

2. Later versions of the motif are e.g. Sil. 1,516; 9,382; Stat. Theb.2,534; Apul. Met.1,13.

developments, which have remained more or less obscure. On the connection of this passage with book 4, see RUTZ 1950,18-9.

After briefly outlining the main course of events, the poet returns to concrete examples. These deal with the defeat at sea (753-6) and the reactions of the Massilian population (756-61). The section is concluded with a paradox.

(3) Historical material:

As in earlier sections, Lucan has heavily transformed the historical material to suit his poetical purpose. Though Massilia did suffer heavy losses at sea (cf. Caes. Civ.1,58; 2,7), it was defeated only after prolonged battles on land, which have been omitted by the poet. Caesar's general Trebonius, who led the siege and completed it, is not even mentioned.

Perhaps more strikingly, the end of the story is dropped altogether. After merely implying Massilia's final defeat, the text suddenly breaks off. We are kept guessing about what happened further to the town. Its surrender, the conditions which Caesar imposed upon it[1], the effect of the success upon Caesar's military campaign, and similar elements which might be expected in a prose account, are passed over in silence. The poet has probably discarded them because they would have thrown a more favourable light upon Caesar's mildness and success, and would have damaged the picture of Massilia's glorious and heroic resistance against its satanic aggressor. On the historical events following Massilia's defeat, see CLERC 1929,150-6; further RE 14,2,2137; CLEBERT 1970,51-2 and 130; on Lucan's transformations of historical material in the Massilia section, cf. 509-762 (3); on the abrupt ending of book 3 e.g. METGER 1957,4; SYNDIKUS 1958,109wn33.

(4) Literary material:

The scene serves mainly literary purposes. We do not get a clear impression of what happens to Massilia or to Caesar's army, and are given no figures or other relevant strategic facts. The losses of Massilia come in unexpectedly and are immediately illustrated by concrete examples. The pathos which they embody is of a slightly different nature than in the preceding scenes. We might say it has changed from pathos of resistance to pathos of defeat; cf. e.g. on 754. The tone, however, remains markedly unemotional; no real compassion shines through. The victorious Caesarean general is not blamed in any way; for the special paradox thus produced, see on 761 and 762.

Throughout the section, allusions to other texts seem frequent again; for some literary models cf. on 756; 759; 760. On the final scene as a whole cf. METGER 1957,74-6; further OPELT 1957,442.

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1. These were not severe; the city was allowed to retain its freedom and was not attached to the province of Gallia Narbonensis; cf. Caes. Civ.2,22,5-6; D.C. 41,25; Flor. Epit.2,13,25; further e.g. Str. 4,1,5.

752 **inclinant - ducum**: 'the fates of the leaders now took a definite turn'. With these words, attention is abruptly directed away from the fierce fighting near Massilia to the larger dimensions of the conflict, *duces* referring to Pompey and Caesar, both not personally present near the town.

According to SHACKLETON BAILEY 1987,79, it is meant that their destinies determine the outcome of this battle, rather than vice versa. Accordingly, both here and in his text edition he prints *inclinant rem*, introducing a new conjecture for the MSS' *iam*, taking *inclinant* as a transitive verb (comparing Liv. 22,6,9), and avoiding repeated *iam* in the line. However, the word 'determine' is misleading here Caesar and Pompey do not determine the battle of Massilia any more than they are determined by it. In their general role of *duces* they merely represent both sides in this particular conflict. There is no need to alter the text; for intransitive *inclinare* cf. Liv. 6,32,8 *ut semel inclinavit pugna*, Tac. Hist 3,23 *neutro inclinaverat pugna*, further Sil. 6,29, TLL VII,944,8ff. Repeated *iam* is frequent in BC, cf. e g 1,19; 123-5; 2,214-7. Therefore, together with BADALI 1989,154 and VENINI 1990,543, I retain the text of the MSS here.

nec iam - erat: a variation of the previous *inclinant - ducum*. But here the image of the scales (for which see 55; 337-8) is absent, and the phrase is less vague, explicitly referring to the battle in question (*belli*).

iam amplius: *iam* is repeated; cf. above. In this case, the word is elided due to the following vowel. Elision of monosyllabic words is an increasingly rare phenomenon in classical Latin poetry, in Lucan's text cf. only 1,334 and 2,217 (*iam*); see also SOUBIRAN 1966,394wn2[1]. For *anceps* is written *ullus* in Z(M), a strange error.

753 **Graiae...classis**: after the long section describing *miracula fati* on both sides, often even without a clear distinction between Greeks and Romans, it comes as a great surprise that one side is actually loosing.

pars maxima: Lucan gives no figures as Caesar does[2].

754 **mergitur**: the shock effect of Massilia's defeat is reinforced by the position and force of the word. Throughout the second half of book 3 Lucan was anxious to present the Massilians' achievements as favourably as possible. Now that they appear to have lost, he stresses the desastrous effects of their defeat: the ships are sunk, taken over or, in only a few cases, flee back in a hurry. Pathos of resistance has clearly been changed for pathos of defeat. The tone, however, remains consistently rhetorical.

ast: cf. on 565.

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[1] SOUBIRAN also mentions 9,807, but modern editions do not print a monosyllabum in that line

[2] In the first naval battle, the Massilians are said to have employed 17 large ships (Caes Civ 1,56,2), 9 of which were lost or captured (Civ 1,58,5) In the second battle, 5 were sunk, 4 were captured, while 1 fled with Nasidius' ships to Spain (Civ 2,7,2), but no figures are given as to how many Massilian ships took part In both cases the Massilians used minor ships too, but Caesar does not specify them by number

mutato remige: 'with a change of their crews', that is, the Massilians are killed or captured, and Romans take their places.

755 **navalia... tenuere**: for *navalia* 'docks' see on 182. *Navalia tenuere* obviously indicates the result of a movement, as in 182, and may be rendered by 'reached the docks'; for *tenere* in this sense cf. also e.g. 516; 4,586; 5,720; a.o.; further OLD s.v. *teneo* 5; SAINT-DENIS 1935b,112.

756 **praecipiti**: notice that *praeceps* was used only a few lines ago, in 750.

quis in urbe...: lines 756-61 describe the reactions of the Massilian population to the defeat of their fleet. The image of parents wailing and mourning their children is traditional, especially in scenes of war and capture of cities; cf. the *urbs capta* motif, referred to on 97-112 (4). In another context, it can be found in BC 2,21-8 of a mother and 2,297-301 of a father; further 607-8 in this book. For the exclamation, here serving an ornamental purpose, see on 73.

758 **saepe**: must be taken with both 758-9 and 760-1.

confusis vultibus: 'as the face was disfigured', with *confundere* used for savage mutilation as in 2,191 *Marii confundere vultum*; 7,575; further Ov. Met.5,58; 12,251; V.Max 4,5,ext 1; Quint. Inst.11,2,13. The present disfigurement is caused by the sea water (*unda*). In this context, the phrase might also be taken to mean simply 'as she mistook the face'; cf. OLD s.v. 8. However, it cannot be the primary sense, because it would leave *unda* standing isolated. Still, the ambiguity seems deliberate.

759 **credidit - cadaver**: 'while embracing a Roman corpse, believed the features to be her husband's'. Lines 759-61 provide more instances of alienation and of civil war cruelly disrupting family ties (cf. on 726). Mothers and fathers want to take care of corpses floating ashore, but they tragically do the wrong thing. This line recalls the end of Sallustius' *Catilina*, where people at least recognize friends, relatives and enemies: *fuere item qui inimicos suos cognoscerent* (Sall. Cat.61,8), something which no longer occurs here.

amplexa: there is a clear contrast with the previous scene: whereas Argus' father could not recognize his son and gave him no last embrace or kiss, here women think that they recognize their husbands, and do embrace them. However, ironically, they show their signs of affection to the wrong corpses.

760 **accensis - patres**: probably an allusion to the end of Lucretius' *De rerum natura*. In 6,1283-6, Lucretius pictures how people put corpses of relatives on other men's pyres, *rixantes potius quam corpora desererentur* (1286). Lucretius here adapts Thuc. 2,52,4. For later echoes of the motif of using other men's pyres, Lucretian scholars refer to Ov. Met.7,610 and Sen. Oed.64. As usual, Lucan has carried the paradox one step further. Fathers are disputing not the pyres, but, significantly, the corpses themselves, which have lost their identity having been decapitated[1].

While the pyres are actually burning, the corpses are still not put onto them. Thus they are not even given a decent cremation. This represents a climax of

1. This may have happened during the naval battle: cf. 615; 642 and 669.

inhumanity to be paralleled only by Caesar refusing to burn the dead after the battle of Pharsalus, 7,798-815[1].

miseri: again, as in 744, *miseri* seems not just intended to evoke sympathy for the fathers. They are behaving rather indignantly, being just as blind to the interests of their sons as Argus' father was to those of his. The real unfortunate ones are, of course, these soldiers whose corpses lie mutilated and unattended to.

761 Brutus...victor: as in the preceding scenes, Caesar's general D. Iunius Brutus is not explicitly distinguished from M. Iunius Brutus, who took Cato's side. At this point however, such a distinction would seem urgently needed. The heroic, dignified tone of the line on 'Brutus' victory' easily brings to the reader's mind M. Brutus, who is presented very favourably in BC, and who was much better known than D. Brutus (see also on 514). The ambiguity is probably not due to either carelessness or poetic economy. Elsewhere, two Bruti, the same M. Brutus and the legendary first Roman consul L. Iunius Brutus, are closely associated with each other because of their fighting tyrants; cf. 5,206-8; 6,791-2; 7,440. This connotation seems present here too; cf. further on *Caesareis* and on *decus* (762).

in aequore: Florus seems to have expanded Lucan's statement, wrongly attributing victory on both land and sea to Brutus: *Brutus, cui mandatum erat bellum, victos terra marique perdomuit* (2,13,25). Operations on land were actually led by Trebonius.

762 primus... pelagi decus: the words may have some additional dimensions. Perhaps they represent another slight allusion to the first Roman victory at sea in the First Punic war; see on 509-762 (4) and 556. Furthermore, it seems significant that the Caesareans achieve a victory at sea, the element usually associated in BC with Pompey; cf. 1-45 (5). In the next book, however, Caesar's troops will again meet with setbacks due to heavy rains and floods (4,76-92) and difficulties at sea (4,402-581); cf. e.g. the paradox in 4,87-8, *iam naufraga campo / Caesaris arma natant.*

Caesareis...armis: the name of Caesar immediately follows the ambiguous 'Brutus'. This inevitably evokes the notion of the future murder of Caesar by M. Brutus[2]; see also above on 761. Considering this allusion, the notion of 'Brutus gaining a victory for Caesar' becomes an exquisite paradox, well befitting the end of the book; Lucan's irony has been noticed only by a few scholars; cf. ROWLAND 1969,208[3]; HAÜSSLER 1978,132.

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1. For the emotional importance of the pyre, cf. also the mutinying soldiers' wish to have a pyre of their own: *unique paratum / scire rogum*, 5,281-2.

2. Caesar's future death is repeatedly anticipated throughout BC; cf. SCHREMPP 1964,39-48. A fine example is 2,283-4, in a speech by M. Brutus; other examples where Brutus' act is foreshadowed are 7,587-96; 8,609-10; 10,398 and other texts referred to on 761.

3. ROWLAND notices that Lucan does not distinguish M. Brutus from D. Brutus, and observes a final irony, which places the new, Caesarean Rome in stark contrast with Massilia and with old Rome. This seems to miss the point. It is not the past of an abstract Caesarean Rome, but the future of Caesar which elicits the paradox.

decus: the word may appear ironical to modern readers after the gruesome images of the preceding sections, but it is probably not intended to convey negative associations here, as METGER 1957,76 has supposed. With *at*, the poet has created a simple contrast between the suffering of the Massilians and the victory of Brutus. *Decus* is used in relation to M. Brutus in 7,588. This may be taken as another argument for the poet's allusion here; cf. on 761.

At this stage, we hear no more about Massilia and its eventual capitulation; cf. on 752-62 (3). After book 3, Caesar's important success near Massilia will be mentioned only once explicitly as such, in 4,255-7. The city's firm resistance will be echoed only in 5,53. Other, new elements will in their turn demand attention.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

In this bibliography, texts and studies are listed which have been used in preparing the commentary. Items are given in alphabetical and chronological order.

In the first part, text editions of Lucan's works are mentioned. In the commentary they are referred to by the name of the scholar, written in uppercase. Current modern commentaries on separate books of Lucan as well as on other ancient authors are not specified. In the commentary these are referred to by the name of the scholar, written in lowercase.

In the second part, books and articles concerning Lucan and the third book of BC are listed. In the commentary these items are referred to by the name of the scholar, written in uppercase, followed by the year of publication. Here this abbreviated form is explicitly given in cases where confusion might arise (e.g. [ADATTE 1964]; [AUMONT 1968b]). Wherever possible, abbreviations for journals are used as in *L'Année Philologique*; in other cases, journals are mentioned by their full name.

TEXTS

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INDEXES

INDEX OF PASSAGES

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INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

In this index, the most important names and subjects referred to in the commentary are listed. Numbers refer to lines dealt with in the commentary. Where numbers are preceded by 'e.g.', only a selection of references is given.

SAMENVATTING

Het epos *Bellum Civile* van de Romeinse dichter Marcus Annaeus Lucanus (39-65 n.Chr.) behandelt de burgeroorlog tussen Julius Caesar en Pompeius in 49-47 v.Chr. Hun conflict wordt uitgebreid geschilderd in krachtige versregels vol van paradoxen, puntige spreuken en hevig pathos. Deze studie is een commentaar op het derde boek van Lucanus' werk, waaraan tot op heden nog geen afzonderlijk commentaar was gewijd. De belangrijkste onderdelen van het derde boek zijn een lange catalogus van de Oosterse hulptroepen van Pompeius, en een originele weergave van een zeeslag bij Marseille.

BC is een gecompliceerde tekst, die de lezer op tal van plaatsen confronteert met problemen van textuele, taalkundige en inhoudelijke aard. In het commentaar wordt getracht deze problemen te benoemen en, waar mogelijk, oplossingen ervoor te formuleren. Veelal wordt eerst de betekenis van de Latijnse tekst aangeduid, door middel van vertaling, parafrase of uitleg. Daarna wordt op veel plaatsen een interpretatie gegeven. Deze interpretatie vindt plaats tegen de achtergrond van een meer algemene visie op BC. Onmiskenbaar behandelt Lucanus historische stof, en gebruikt hij veel materiaal dat een filosofische, politieke of wetenschappelijke dimensie heeft. Toch is zijn werk in mijn ogen bovenal een rhetorisch epos. Het is de dichter niet te doen om een adequate weergave van de historische werkelijkheid of van enigerlei ideologie of theorie, maar om een maximum aan effect in zijn verzen. De interpretatie van BC als rhetorisch epos wordt nader uitgewerkt in de Introduction, 1.3..

In de afzonderlijke lemmata van het commentaar wordt vooral aandacht geschonken aan de literaire en rhetorische functies die het in BC bewerkte materiaal krijgt. Bijzondere aandacht gaat uit naar Lucanus' omvormingen van traditionele motieven uit de antieke literatuur, en verwijzingen naar grote voorgangers als Vergilius en Ovidius.

Een uitvoerige verantwoording, zowel van de werkwijze die ik heb gevolgd, als van de concrete indeling en inhoud, is te vinden in de Introduction. Ik heb ernaar gestreefd om, meer dan in commentaren gebruikelijk is, mijn principes en keuzes op alle niveau's expliciet te maken.

Bij het maken van een commentaar dient men verschillende doelen tegelijk, en richt men zich zowel op beginnende als meer gevorderde lezers. Het onvermijdelijke gevolg is dat op tal van plaatsen compromissen nodig zijn. Ik heb echter voortdurend voor ogen gehouden dat een commentaar in de eerste plaats een dienende functie behoort te hebben: het moet de tekst ontsluiten en toegankelijk maken voor een lezerspubliek.

CURRICULUM VITAE

De auteur van dit proefschrift werd geboren op 4 augustus 1962 te Nijmegen. In 1980 behaalde hij het diploma VWO op het Canisius-college te Nijmegen. In diezelfde stad studeerde hij van 1980 tot 1986 klassieke taal- en letterkunde aan de Katholieke Universiteit. Na een korte periode in 1987 waarin hij ter vervanging als docent Latijn werkzaam was aan het Elzendaalcollege te Boxmeer, trad hij in 1988 in dienst van de Katholieke Universiteit als Assistent in Opleiding bij de sectie klassieken. In die functie vervaardigde hij in de jaren 1988 tot en met 1991 dit proefschrift.

Daarnaast publiceerde hij onder andere in: *Lampas*, *Mnemosyne*, *Homologie*, *Parmentier*, *SIC*, en *De Gids*. Voorts maakte hij deel uit van de redactie van de essay-bundel *Eigenlijk geloof ik niets* over Gerard Reve (Cadans, Nijmegen 1990). Bij uitgeverij Athenaeum, Polak en Van Gennep verscheen van zijn hand een vertaling van de *Apologie* van Apuleius, onder de titel *Toverkunsten* (Amsterdam 1992).

STELLINGEN

behorende bij het proefschrift

M. ANNAEUS LUCANUS
BELLUM CIVILE
BOOK III

a commentary
door Vincent Hunink

I

In zijn *Bellum Civile* geeft de dichter M. Annaeus Lucanus geen blijk van een primair historiografische interesse. Dientengevolge is het werk voor oudhistorici slechts in beperkte mate bruikbaar als bron.

Contra: A.F. Wensler, 'Lucan und Livius zum Januar 49 v. Chr.. Quellenkundige Beobachtungen', in: *Historia* 38,1989,250-4.

II

Hoewel in *BC* talrijke elementen lijken te behoren tot het gedachtengoed van de Stoa, is het niet juist om Lucanus' wereldbeeld als Stoïsch aan te duiden.

Zie: M. Billerbeck, 'Stoizismus in der römischen Epik neronischer und flavischer Zeit', in: *ANRW* 2,32,5,1985,3116-51;
M.L. Colish, *The Stoic tradition from antiquity to the early middle ages.* I Stoicism in Classical Latin literature, Leiden 1985, 252-75.

III

Het rhetorische karakter van Lucanus' dichtwerk hoeft een positieve waardering ervan niet langer in de weg te staan. Veeleer verschaft het moderne lezers een sleutel tot interpretatie en appreciatie van het werk.

IV

In het licht van de sterk gecontamineerde traditie van Lucanus-handschriften zijn emendaties op de tekst van *BC* in vrijwel alle gevallen ongewenst.

Contra: L. Håkanson, 'Problems of textual criticism and interpretation in Lucan's De Bello Civili', in: *PCPhS* 25,1979,26-51.

V

De uitgebreide troepencatalogus van Pompeius in boek III is geen zinloze excurs die de gang van het verhaal ophoudt, maar een wezenlijk en functioneel bestanddeel van het boek.

VI

Een nieuw wetenschappelijk commentaar op de *Apologie* van Apuleius is dringend noodzakelijk.

VII

Het is niet alleen op zichzelf zinvol maar ook historisch verantwoord wanneer classici moderne literaire theorieën en modellen toepassen op antieke teksten.

Zie: G.A.Kennedy 'Ancient antecedents of modern literary theory', in: *AJPh* 110,1989,492-8.

VIII

De aandacht van de critici voor het oeuvre van Gerard Reve blijft ten onrechte nog altijd hoofdzakelijk beperkt tot het vroegste werk.

Contra: J. Snapper, *De spiegel der verlossing in het werk van Gerard Reve*, Utrecht 1990.

IX

Het zou de zaak van de homo-emancipatie ten goede komen als het COC zijn elitaire, politiek getinte koers losliet en een tientjeslidmaatschap invoerde.

X

Het substantivisch gebruik van het gerundivum Promovendus is geen klassiek Latijn.

Zie: P. Aalto, *Untersuchungen über das lateinische Gerundium und Gerundivum*, Helsinki 1949,104-5.